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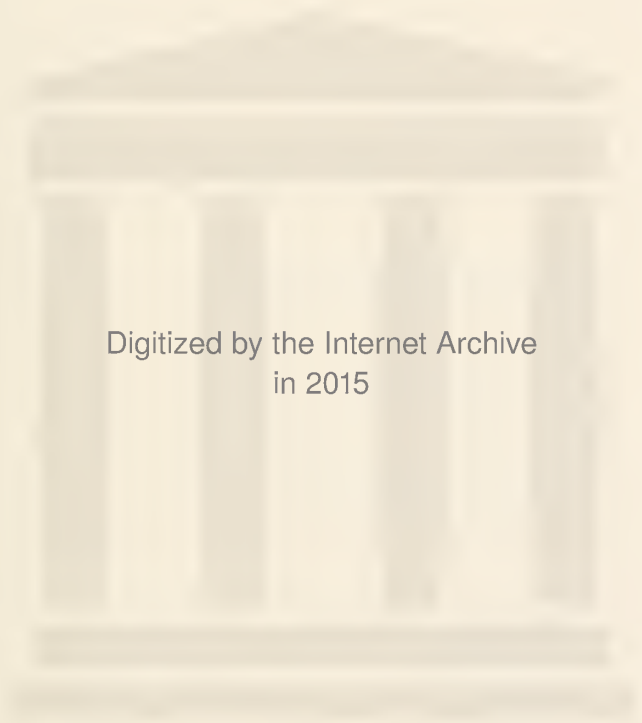
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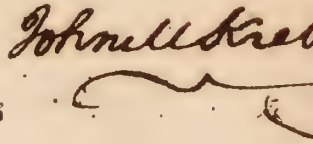
INTO THE

TRUE NATURE AND TENDENCY

OF THE



Religious Principles

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,

COMMONLY CALLED QUAKERS.

IN TWO PARTS.

1. The history of their opinions: the rise and progress of the society.
II. Dissertations on their doctrinal tenets, their worship, ministry, &c.

BY WILLIAM CRAIG BROWNLEE, A. M.

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

"Suis-je seul? Je me plais encore au coin du feu."

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN MORTIMER.

J. HARDING, PRINTER.

1824.

Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twelfth day of January, in the forty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1824, John Mortimer, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the Title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit :—

A careful and free inquiry into the true Nature and Tendency of the Religious Principles of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers. In two Parts.

I. The History of their Opinions. The Rise and Progress of the Society.

II. Dissertations on their Doctrinal Tenets, their Worship, Ministry, &c.

By William Craig Brownlee, A. M. Minister of the Gospel.

"Suis-je seul? Je me plais encore au coire du feu."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, intituled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned;"—And also to the Act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

TO JAMES JEFFRAY, ESQ. M. D.

PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

SIR,

The affection of a brother had dedicated this volume (in manuscript,) to the late lamented Reverend James Brownlee of Falkirk.

But he was cut off in his ministerial career, literally in the very pulpit, and left us in deep distress. He, who held the first place in my heart, is no more in the land of the living. I was denied the favour of inscribing his much loved name on this page.

Next to him, an uncle's name claims my reverence. And the gratitude and affection, which your unwearied attentions to our beloved mother, your sister, have created in our hearts, constrain me to offer you this public expression of my sentiments.

Accept, very dear sir, the assurances of our affection and reverence.

I am your obedient servant
and nephew,
WILLIAM CRAIG BROWNLEE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

With diffidence I venture to lay this volume before the public. Whatever may be its defects or merits, it certainly owes nothing to the influence of learned ease, or the support of a patron. An American author is not favoured with either the one or the other. It was written under the unceasing pressure of my pastoral and academic labours; and the pleasure and amusement, which every author feels in arranging his materials, were resumed, from time to time, to beguile a sombre hour. I have been anxious to render it, in every respect, worthy of the notice of the public. But, it is, perhaps, prudent to conceal how much pains have been taken, and how many years have been spent, in collecting materials "*in the toon of that singulaire an' graite mann Maister William Penn*," to render them worthy of patronage, until it be known whether that shall ever be bestowed on it.

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THE PROEM.

Nos enim qui ipsi sermoni non interfuissemus, et quibus C. Cotta locos et sententias hujus disputationis tradidisset—id ipsum sumus in eorum sermone adumbrare conati.—*Cic. De Oratore.*

The materials of this volume were gleaned from various sources; and during that period in which the society of Friends struggled into existence.

* * * * In that extraordinary period, when death had removed the head of that party which had been flung into power by the whirlwind of faction, the British nation replaced its native prince on the throne of his fathers. * * * * *

* * * * * But Charles II. was an unprincipled man. He neither feared God, nor regarded man. He was a Jesuit in politics, a Judas in religion, a Nero on the throne. Irreclaimable even by the lessons which the nation had given his family, in the reigns of his father and grandfather; and deplorably and culpably ignorant of the duty and the art of ruling; and in a great degree a stranger to the character and disposition of that high-minded people, over whom he was placed as chief magistrate, he came to the throne with all the errors of a Stuart, if possible, tenfold increased. His reign, under the tutorship of Lauderdale, exhibited little else than misrule, and tyranny and cruelty.

The kingdom he claimed as his inheritance by birthright. The treasure, and the bodies, and the consciences of the people he considered as his property; and as much at his disposal as his moveables, or the tenants of his stables. By the act of supremacy of A. D. 1669, procured by the most corrupt influence, he received power over all matters and persons, ecclesiastical and civil. He modelled the form of worship and government in the church according to his will. He denied to the people the right of electing their ministers, *or of thinking for themselves, or of taking care of their own souls.*

The whigs of Scotland, whom lord Belhaven styled "the true blue presbyterians,"* did not understand this. They had once recalled the king, and had set the crown on his head. They expected a different return. They remonstrated. They called this an impious stretch of power. The conscience, they told him, is left as free as the wind on their mountains. This was, moreover, trenching on their chartered rights as Scotchmen; and it was a laying on the shoulders of an erring mortal what could be borne by no man. It was the prerogative of the Lord Jesus Christ that he was usurping.

To this bold declaration of a very brave and loyal people, Charles II replied by an edict, which drove four hundred of Scotland's best and most faithful ministers into prison, or into exile; and he placed their flocks under bishops and curates, most unhappily selected—for, according to bishop Burnet, they were without religion, and many of them without morals.

A Scotchman's conscience is not to be dictated to in matters of religion. The mass of the people instantly turned away from those temples in which they had formerly worshipped with delight; but which were now polluted by the slaves of tyranny. They invited their pastors to meet them in their private houses—for their churches were taken from them. These houses were soon found to be too small for the mass of population which crowded forward around their much loved pastors. They betook themselves to the fields. Hence the origin of conventicles and field meetings.

To put down these, and to regain the consciences of his subjects, Charles II. had recourse to cruel means. His sanguinary laws made it penal in any person even to be present at a conventicle: and high treason in a clergyman to officiate in any way at it. A price was set on the heads of the ministers who refused to abandon their flocks, and become traitors to religion. The soldiery were turned loose on the country: and they butchered pastor and people!

The people, after long submission and suffering, goad-

* In his speech in the Scottish parliament, 1706.—I mean here the whigs of the covenant, of course.

ed on to despair, began, at length, to assert the lawfulness of self-defence against these lawless and brutal soldiers, let loose against them by those who had sworn to protect them. Hence the origin of the practice of coming armed to the conventicles.

It was no sooner known that they had assumed this attitude than they were denounced as rebels—and without an examination of their grievances, they were put out of the protection of the law. And what was the character of these men? They were no rebels. Oppression had driven them to desperate measures of defence. There was not a moral stain on their character—some few individuals, of fierce spirit, only excepted. They were devout and pious men; they possessed an ardent love of civil and religious liberty, which no force nor inquisitorial cruelty could subdue. In fine, the only crime that the tyrant could allege against them, was that of self-defence against his tyranny. Their sole crime was their determination to be free; and to secure their religion against those prelates who were, in a manner so unbefitting their office, dragooning a nation to their religion and ceremonies.

In the dreadful hour of oppression this band of Christian patriots raised the standard of self-defence. In the oath of their covenant they pledged support to each other, and fidelity to their God. They appealed to the Almighty for the justness of their cause: and proclaimed war against the tyrant and his bloody council.

All their efforts failed to rouse the sleeping energies of the nation. The patriot's voice was drowned in the clamours of the spies and court parasites. The body of the nation left this band to their fate for twenty and eight years! Pentland witnessed their melancholy overthrow; and Scottish liberty wailed on her mountains while the brave covenanters fell. Drumclog saw them rally and gain a battle. But Bothwell's bloody field saw them broken irrecoverably. The Christian patriots were driven to their mountains and fastnesses. They wandered in the deep morasses; and hid themselves in the caves. The bloody tyrant, as if infuriate with success, had recourse to means so shocking to every feeling heart, that they seem almost the fables of romance to our ears. In addition to outlawry, and the confiscation of property, his zeal

revived the spirit of the old Norman law which "hanged the husband if his wife committed theft." His law made the head of each family answer for all his inmates, if they had ventured to a conventicle: and the land proprietors were made accountable for their tenants.* And to crown the whole, he employed such ferocious assassins as Graham of Clavers, and Dalziel; with a complement of the body guards, each of whom threw into the shade the fiercest Indians that ever yelled in the wilds of America. These English soldiers occasionally employed the sagacity of blood hounds to hunt up the retreats of the sufferers!†

In this period of civil war, when tyranny struck a blow at every dissenter, armed bands of peasantry, with their chiefs, associated with the fugitive pastor: the pious and orthodox were brought into collision with the sectary and fanatic. In their secret haunts, in caves and morasses, the resolutioner met the protester; and the presbyterian the quaker. Yet their common danger never could prevail on them to sacrifice their peculiar opinions, or even to soften down their asperities. It rather, indeed, seemed to endear them to each sect. The sombre hours of the wanderer on the lonely mountains, were often enlivened by the free exchange of sentiment, or the fierce sallies of passion, which characterized the polemicks of that day. And often the midnight lamp was seen to illumine the dreary and damp cave of the exiles, while they pursued the argument, or collected the materials of a well digested refutation.

Among these polemicks who wielded the pen against the sectary, and his sword against the enemies of his country, was the laird of Torfoot. He was of an ancient rather than a rich family. His small estate (now in possession of two individuals of the fifth generation from him,) lies in the shire of Lanerk, and in Avendale, at the conflux of the beautiful streams of the Aven and the Geel.

* Crookshank's Hist. vol. i. ch. 12 & 14.

† See Laing's Hist. of Scotland during this period, in vol. ii. It is to this bloody king that Barclay has dedicated his Apology, in a bold and flattering style: "God had restored him to his throne by a singular step, which generations will admire." "God had done great things for him." "God had signally visited him with his love," &c. How could the amiable Barclay say so of such a person as Charles II.?

On the east are stretched the mountains of Dungavel; on the south, and bordering the Great Valley, are Cairnsaigh and Distinkhorn; the romantic Loudon hill raises its conical summit on the west; and looks over a wide plain, terminated on the west by a heathy wild, which spreads over the mountains of Drumclog. On the north opens the delightful vale through which the Aven pours its broad stream, and hastens to mingle with the Clyde at Hamilton.

From this situation of his estate, and the facilities it afforded of concealing the wanderers, laird Thomas's house was the haunt of many distinguished personages of that day.

Mr. John Kid, and Mr. John King, two eminent preachers, and who were martyred in Edinburg, A. D. 1679, were frequent inmates. The last was a polished man and an accomplished scholar. Mr. Hugh M'Kail, another minister, who fell a martyr in A. D. 1662, in the full expansion of genius and learning, also honoured the halls of my fathers. He had spent several years in travelling on the continent, and in foreign universities. His name was never mentioned by my ancestor without a tear stealing down his manly cheek. The immortal William Guthrie, minister of Fenwick, was a favourite at Torfoot. He was eminent as a theologian; he was a powerful preacher; and excelled in gaining men from the delusions of error. The early quakers had drawn away great multitudes of his parishoners, and it is well known that he regained them all.* He died in A. D. 1655, and left the laird to lament an invaluable friend of his youth.

The venerable Dickson, of Rutherglen, was occasionally seen in the group; and Mr. Shields enlivened the company by his sallies of wit, or roused their languor by his impetuous manner.

The celebrated Fleming, and John Welsh the younger, were sometimes of the party. But not even the high character of Fleming's piety and learning, nor the fire of young Welsh, could prevent the invectives of uncle John, who missed no opportunity of running down as fair game "*the fushionless doctrines and awfu' apostacie*" of those

* Scot's Worth. p. 255. Edit. of 1812.

who favoured the indulged. He insisted that they were nothing short of tories and erastians.

Richard Cameron, the minister and the hero, stood high in the affections of this interesting group. His learning was considerable. He had gleaned his knowledge in the seminaries of Scotland and of Holland. He was a fluent orator; and what was unusual then, he used the English more generally than the Dorick dialect of the north. No good man can slander this character. As a minister he was faithful and truly laborious; as a man of taleuts and acquirements, he might, if he had pleased, risen high among the licensed opposers of his country. But as a patriot he laboured during his life; and died fighting for that liberty which the patriots of the revolution, *in some measure*, secured. In that day which tried the christian patriot's soul, he had made himself master of the military exercise; and he could match laird Thomas as readily in handling a carbine, or playing with the small sword, as he could loose the knots of a syllogism, or twist the horns of a dilemma! This patriot fell in the skirmish at Ayrsmoss; and his eulogium was pronounced by the bloody enemy, as he rolled out the head and the limbs of Cameron from the sack, before the council at Edinburg: "There are the head and the limbs of a man "who lived praying and preachiug, and who died pray-"ing and fightiug."

In this circle was seen that singular man of God, Mr. Alexander Peden. He had a strong, but uncultivated mind; his features were of the bold Roman cast; his brow was high, his nose aquiline, his eyebrows shaggy, his hair long and bushy. He was distinguished among the ministers by his *natural "head piece."* He despised a hat. He wore the *large blue bonnet.* His manners were plain, and his appearance rustic; but his manly sense, and most ardent piety, made ample amends for the exterior. In the sombre hours which rolled heavy over the wanderers, he was equally prepared to pray like an apostle, or to argue on any point, or to detail anecdote, gleaned in his travels. In his tour homeward. through England,* he had met with George Fox; and the laird

* Scot's Worth, p. 412.

used to say, that nothing could equal the character which this shrewd person drew of this far-famed man, and of his doctrines, and disciples. It was edifying and interesting, and occasionally his anecdote, detailed in his broadest Scotch, with his strong Galloway tone, would set the gravest of them in a roar.

The venerable Daniel Cargil made the Torfoot one of his retreats. His theological learning was profound; his manners dignified; though latterly stern and severe. There was something unusually interesting in his countenance: there was that in it which struck awe into the beholder, and at the same time something so lovely and sweet, that he gained the affection of all. Nothing could equal his fine face, when lighted up by the excitement of the pulpit exercise. His deep toned and musical voice was in perfect unison with this set of features; and then his singular pathos, which revealed the sensibilities of his soul, as it put forth its powerful energies over the hearts of his audience, produced extraordinary effects. He did not terrify; he did not strike the mind dumb with amazement; the audience became oppressed with sorrow as he spoke, and their labouring hearts vented their feelings in floods of tears. He was connected with the first families near Glasgow, and had moved in the first circles; being minister of the high church of that city, he had been the leading man in that section of the church. He sacrificed all worldly honours and emoluments for the love of religion and liberty; and placed himself by the side of the patriots, and persecuted ministry of Christ. The liberties of his country, and the honour of his master's crown, were dearer to him than riches, than friends, than relations, than life itself.

It was he who performed the most heroic ministerial action that is recorded in church history. At the great meeting in Torwood he pronounced the formal sentence of ecclesiastical excommunication on the proudest and highest heads in the land. He excommunicated king Charles II. and his royal brother, James, duke of York, and the counsellors and officers of the tyrant. If we admit that there is a discipline appointed in the church to reclaim offenders; if this discipline is to be impartially executed; if the rich members as well as the poor, if ma-

gistrates as well as subjects are, as church members, amenable to the rulers of the church, who guard the laws of God from brutal insults; if the courts of Christ's house know neither father nor mother, king nor beggar, then this action can be defended. The king and these counsellors had voluntarily put themselves under the ecclesiastical law. They had been received into the communion of the church; neither wealth nor civil offices ought to screen notorious delinquents. Cargil did what every honest minister was bound by the solemn vows of ordination to do.*

And let the tory writers, who slander such men as Cargil, accept of the challenge which he threw down to his enemies. There was too much learning, and devotion, and solid intellect in Cargil's soul to allow him to be a fanatic. It is true he was actuated by a glorious enthusiasm in the greatest of causes. This enthusiastic lover of liberty appealed to the Almighty—he laid down this challenge: "If these persons whom I have excommunicated, do not themselves feel and acknowledge this sentence in their last moments, then God shall not have countenanced this common exercise of the discipline of his house. But if—" This was perfectly accordant with our Lord's words, "*Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.*" The fact is on record, that some of them did acknowledge, with anguish, the justness of that sentence; and, perhaps, no annals have recorded seven similar instances of such unmingled wretchedness and terror in the last moments of life, as these all did.†

It is impossible not to contrast with this the last moments of father Cargil. He was ordered for execution by the council. He met death with unaltered countenance, and with a smile at the violence of the council; who ordered the drums to beat one continued roll, that his last speech and prayer might not reach the ears of the spec-

* In these days of loose and degenerate discipline, nobody is surprised at the unhandsome manner in which Cook has expressed the sentiments of modern divines on this subject. Cook's Hist. Church of Scotland, vol. iii. ch. 26. Compare the ancient discipline, M'Crie's Knox, note NN, p. 491.

† Scottish Worthies, Life of Cargil, p. 353. Edin. edit. of 1812. Cruikshank's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. ch. 4.

tators. The last words of this venerable minister and patriot were: "*Farewell all relatives and friends; fare-*
"*well reading and preaching; praying and believing;*
"*wanderings, reproaches, and sufferings—I forgive all*
"*men their wrongs—Now welcome Father, Son, and*
"*Holy Ghost—into thy hands I commend my spirit.*"

And Renwick, too, was one of the group. His small stature and blooming countenance, seemed ill to comport with that masculine, unsubdued soul, with which he braved the thunders of tyranny; and fearlessly supported the falling standard of liberty and truth. Laird Thomas was tenderly attached to him, and lost no opportunity of profiting by his instructive conversation. He lived also to see him ascend, on a "fiery wheel," to the martyr's crown, amidst an universal burst of anguish from the public.

Among the distinguished laymen who took an active part in the conversations of this group, my manuscript mentions sir Robert Hamilton; a man of noble descent, and of liberal education. But the sufferings of his bleeding country had preyed on his fine mind, and had rendered his manners too severe for the ideas of those who never knew the feelings of the patriot, or the pangs of the martyr.

There was also general Hackstone, of Rathillet, a man of tall frame, and reserved manners. He had been accused of the murder of archbishop Sharpe; but it is a fact well known among those fiery spirits, who never thought that action culpable, that he was entirely innocent He opposed it from the first with warmth. He had not physical power to prevent it; but he kept aloof from the company, and implored the party to spare "those gray hairs."

There was also, sometimes, seen laird Balfour, of Burly, a military character of great skill and enterprise. He had made great sacrifices to the idol of his country's independence and the liberties of the church He was the leader of the party who slew the archbishop. Laird Thomas never admitted him into his protection or hospitality after this "*accursed deed*," as he always termed it. But uncle John insisted on comforting him: he called it a military execution; and sternly defended him on the law

of retaliation, and military reprisals in open war. "*It is to be deeply regretted that such things become necessary,*" said the covenanter, "*but it is well known that war has "been publicly carried on by us, according to our declara- "tion. That priest had been merged in the civil officer. "We called him one of Charles's executioners. It is cer- "tain that his hands have been dipped in human gore up "to the wrists. Now they shoot down our men in the "fields without form of trial. The most likely way to "stay those sanguinary executions, is to let them see that "our troops shall do the same, if they stop not.*"

Burly went to Holland, and became a favourite at the court of the prince, afterwards king William. He was returning, charged with a commission, but he died on board of the vessel, before he reached the shores of his country.*

Besides, I see the names of captain Nesbit of the horse, the gallant colonel Hall, and captain Paton, who served in the wars against Cromwell, in England and in Scotland; who were intimately acquainted with the state of the religious parties of the day.

In fine, from principal Bailey, and from John, earl of Loudon, with whose conversations he had been honoured, he received many valuable communications.

We naturally wish to know something of an author whose works we are reading; we want to know not only his character, but his features and appearance.

The laird's studies had been interrupted by the horrid din of civil war. He had been a bookworm; but he had thrown by his pen for his sword. He was enrolled among the horse of the covenanters. His figure was tall and martial; his face was long and full; his nose was formed on the Roman model; his full lips disclosed through a smile a row of double teeth in front, as white as ivory; his brow rose high over a pair of nobly arched eyebrows, as black as jet; his eyes were of a bright chesnut colour,

* In the inimitable "*Old Mortality*," that enchanting writer has practised the ingenious barbarity of the ancient persecutors. He has dressed Burly in the skin of a wild beast, and has let slip the furious dogs on him. The fact is, he mistook Burley's character. He was no fanatic; he never was reckoned religious; he had no cant of it. He was ambitious only of the character of a romantic and daring military chieftain, on the weak side. See Burley's Life, in the Scots' Worthies.

and sparkled with uncommon lustre; he wore his dark beard long, with a liberal correspondence of whiskers. He wore a high steel head piece, surmounted by a black feather. His large chest and square shoulders were enveloped in a buff coat. His armour was a short carbine, and a massy andro-ferrara; his jackboots, made in the terrible fashion of the day, came over his knees; a gray cloak was thrown carelessly around him—and borne along on his gray steed, he felt as much at home on a field of battle, as at an argument in the parlour, or a dissertation in the cave of the wanderers.

His temper was impetuous in argument, and more so in the field; and sometimes when reason and remonstrance could not prevail in putting a stop to cruelty, his strong arm would interpose with his ferrara. There was an instance of this after the battle of Drumclog. When Burley and two other officers moved the host to put the prisoners (soldiers of Clavers) to death, by way of reprisals for the murder of some of their men: and when the ministers (Douglas and King) and laird Thomas could not succeed in putting down the clamour of Burley, by any argument from usage and from holy writ, the laird drew his sword, and declared that if Burley should dare to touch a hair of their heads, his sword should sever his head from his shoulders.*

The MS. proceeds to detail the personal adventures and escapes of the laird and his brother. The following are specimens:

The laird and his benevolent spouse were one day entertaining their guests, in the best manner that their house, so often pillaged by the licensed freebooters of Clavers, could afford, when the *herd callan* came running in. "Speak quickly," said the laird, "what you have to say with that gaping mouth. "*The foemen are drivin' heevy sceevy doon the Snabe Craft,*" said the stammering lad, "*and they'll be here in a giffy—rin, sirs.*"

The throwing on of their cloaks and hats was the work

* The poor fellows who were witnesses of this debate, were dismissed. "We met here to worship God," said the laird, "You come to murder "us. See, we return you good for evil! Your hands are stained with "blood—Go wash them, live and repent." They gave three cheers to their deliverers, and fled like Indians.

of a moment; they made towards the willow thicket in the adjacent marsh, and the cautious dame hastened to remove all traces of guests having been at her board. John led the way; the laird, in his eagerness to help on the venerable Cargil and Peden, was the last who approached the covert. They were all safely in shelter, when the laird discovered, by a shout from the neighbouring height, that he was seen. A trooper, who acted as sentinel, had taken his station on a knoll above the old mansion house, and his keen eyes fell on the laird struggling through the swamp. To have gone forward would have detected all. "*Better lose one life,*" said he, "*than sacrifice all—* "*keep close in your retreat; your host is the scape-goat;* "*leave me to my fate.*" He had instantly formed his plan. He stretched his course, at a slow pace, toward the southern extremity of the swamp. The trooper coursed around on the highlands to receive him. He had rode a semicircle of about a mile. The laird gained his object. Before he came within reach of the life-guard's carbine, he faced about, and made a swift retreat to the plains on the lower part of his dairy lands, at the junction of the Aven and the Geel. The intrepid soldier saw, and took a course which would have carried him directly through the bushes where the sufferers were uttering a prayer for their host. He plunged forward; but after a few vain struggles, the horse and his rider sunk beneath the green sward, and rose no more. The laird, not supposing that the soldier would attempt the marsh, had calculated that he would return by the same course; and he was sure that he could gain a covert before his pursuer could overtake him. On seeing his fate, he was returning, with a speedy step, to the retreat of his friends; but before he could gain it, the other troopers, having by this time finished their search in the house, perceived him, and set out in full chase after him. "*That wild bugle note, that roused* "*to the fierce chase, rung on my ear,*" the laird often repeated, "*as my death note.*" He instantly turned about again; he had gained the plain; he had waded the dark stream of the Aven; he was struggling up a steep defile, when a trooper came up with him. Unfortunately the laird was unarmed. He faced about to meet his fate. "*I have at least saved my friends,*" said he, "*and I am*

"*at peace with my God.*" The dragoon, in turning an angle, was suddenly on him; he was too near him to shoot; he felled him with his carbine to the ground. At that moment he heard the loud shouts of his comrades, who had discovered a conventicle, at that moment, dismissing; or some of the wanderers fleeing to the mountains on the opposite side of the Aven, in consequence of the approach of the dragoons. His speedy retreat to join his companions saved the laird's life, for the blow was not repeated.

The next adventure represents the laird and his brother John taken prisoners, but not by the life-guards; it was by some of Inglis' troops. They were marched on Kilmarnock. As they passed the defiles near Lochgate, and were approaching London hill, in a dark evening, they effected their escape from the dragoons who had the charge of them. It was in consequence of the laird's exciting an interest in the bosoms of these more humane fellows in behalf of their prisoners. "*My poor lady and* "*my babes will bless you for the favour,*" said the laird, grasping his hand, and enforcing his petition. "*Can a* "*man—a soldier, refuse me my life? You have no more* "*to do than slip us off from this bandage, and fire a pistol* "*over our heads; we shall give you no further trouble.*" A tear fell from the eyes of the dragoon, as he made the appeal in behalf of his wife and babes; and a smile lighted up his face at the conclusion of the laird's speech. "*You are too clever a fellow to go before the council,*" said he, while he and his companion (who had fallen into the rear) secretly unbuckled the belt by which they had lashed their prisoners to their bodies. They slipped off, and rushed down from the narrow path into a steep defile. The dragoons gave the instant alarm, and fired over their heads; the place, and darkness of the night, rendered all search vain. "*Never doubt my powers of argument after this,*" said the laird; "*if I can reach the heart of one of* "*Charlie's dragoons, I surely can touch Fox's con-*"*science.*" The laird often told this anecdote while he sat beside his dame, with a babe on each of his knees, and he delighted to add how his andro-ferrara saved the life of this same dragoon, at the battle of Bothwell, from the sword of Burley, which was descending on his head,

and which would have cloven him to the teeth. "*It was "a delicious moment amid the carnage of a battle,*" he used to say. "*A look from the brave fellow, at the moment "when he felt himself brought back from the verge of eter- "nity, told me that he was more than repaid for all that he "had done for me.*"

After many adventures, laird Thomas was taken prisoner at the battle of Bothwell. By some unaccountable act of clemency, he was doomed only to banishment. The vessel sailed for Virginia, with two hundred and fifty victims of religious tyranny; but the ship was not destined to cross the Atlantic. It struck on the Mule head of Darness, near the Orkneys, and two hundred of the wanderers were drowned. Fifty escaped—the laird was one of them. He was thrown on the waves; a surge carried him over a high peak, and laid him on the top of a cliff; he was washed back; another, and a greater billow, threw him battered and bruised on a rock, whence he was taken by some humane people; and in spite of Clavers and council, and winds and waves, he returned once more, by the grace of God, to bless his desolate and afflicted family.*

The laird had fought in different battles against the enemies of his country and of the kirk. Of Bothwell he never was heard to say much; of Ayrsmoor he never made mention without shedding tears over the memories of Richard Cameron, and the gallant general Hackstone; the first fell by his side, the latter was taken captive, and literally butchered, and his limbs suspended on the shambles of the council; of Drumclog he spoke with military enthusiasm.

The following is the laird's account of the battle: the spelling and style have, of course, undergone some correction. I have profited also by family tradition, particularly from two aunts, the last of whom died lately in Pennsylvania, aged nearly ninety. She was the granddaughter of the laird's second son, and being of the genuine "covenanting branch of the family," her mind was rich in the traditions, or I should say history of the whigs.

* See his name, *Thomas Brownlee of Avendale*, "Cloud of Witnesses," p. 334, Lond. edit. By mistake he is numbered among the lost.

THE BATTLE OF DRUMCLOG.

"Εωθουντο, εμαχοντο, απεκτεινον, απεθνησκον." Xenoph.

On a fair Sabbath morning in June, of A. D. 1679, an assembly of covenanters sat down on the heathy mountains of Drumclog. We had assembled not to fight, but to worship the God of our fathers. We were far from the tumult of cities. The long dark heath waved around us, and we disturbed no living creatures saving the pees-weep,* and the heather-cock. As usual we had come armed. It was for self-defence. For desperate and ferocious bands made bloody raids through the country. And pretending to put down treason, they waged war against religion and morals. They spread ruin and havoc over the face of bleeding Scotland.

The venerable Douglas had commenced the solemnities of the day. He was expatiating on the execrable evils of tyranny. Our souls were on fire at the remembrance of our country's sufferings, and the wrongs of the church. In this moment of intense feeling, our watchman posted on the neighbouring height, fired his carbine, and ran toward the congregation. He announced the approach of the enemy. We raised our eyes to the minister. "I have done," said Douglas, with his usual firmness. "You have got the theory, now for the practice; you know you duty; self-defence is always lawful. But the enemy approaches." He raised his eyes to heaven, and uttered a prayer, brief and emphatic, like the prayer of Richard Cameron. "Lord spare the green, and take the ripe."

The officers collected their men, and placed themselves each at the head of those of his own district. Sir Robert Hamilton placed the foot in the centre, in three ranks. A company of horse, well armed and mounted, was placed on the left; and a small squadron also on the left. These were drawn back, and they occupied the more solid ground; as well with a view to have a more firm footing, as to arrest any flanking party that might take them on the wings. A deep morass lay between us and the ground of the enemy. Our aged men, our females and children

* Anglicè, Teewit, or lapwing.

retired. But they retired slowly. They had the hearts and the courage of the females and children in those days of intense religious feeling, and of suffering. They manifested more concern for the fate of relatives—for the fate of the church, than for their own personal safety. As Claverhouse descended the opposite mountains, they retired to the rising ground in the rear of our host. The aged men walked with their bonnets in hand. Their long gray locks waved in the breeze. They sang a cheering psalm. The music was that of the well known tune of the "Martyrs;" and the sentiment breathed defiance. The music floated down on the wind. Our men gave them three cheers as they fell into their ranks. Never did I witness such animation in the looks of men. For me, my spouse, and my little children were in the rear. My native plains, and the halls of my father, far below, in the dale of Aven, were full in view, from the heights which we occupied. My country seemed to raise her voice—the bleeding church seemed to wail aloud. "And these," I said, as Clavers and his troops winded slowly down the dark mountain's side, "these are the unworthy slaves, and bloody executioners, by which the tyrant completes our miseries."

Hamilton here displayed the hero. His portly figure was seen hastening from rank to rank. He inspired courage into our raw and undisciplined troops. The brave Hackstone, and Hall, of Haugh-head, stood at the head of the foot, and re-echoed the sentiments of their chief. Burley and Cleland had inflamed the minds of the horsemen on the left, to a noble enthusiasm. My small troop on the right, needed no exhortation. We were a band of brothers, resolved to conquer or fall.

The trumpet of Clavers sounded a loud note of defiance. The kettle-drum mixed its tumultuous roll. They halted. They made a long pause. We could see an officer with four file, conducting fifteen persons from the ranks, to a knoll on their left. I could perceive one in black. It was my friend King, the chaplain of lord Cardross, who had been taken prisoner by Clavers, at Hamilton. "Let them be shot through the head," said Clavers, with his usual dry way, "if they should offer to run away." We could see him view our position with

great care. His officers came around him. We soon learned that he wished to treat with us. He never betrayed symptoms of mercy or of justice, nor offered terms of reconciliation, unless when he dreaded that he had met his match. And even then it was only a manœuvre to gain time, or to deceive. His flag approached the edge of the bog. Sir Robert held a flag sacred; had it been borne by Clavers himself, he had honoured it. He demanded the purpose for which he came. "I came," said he, "in the name of his sacred majesty, and of col. Grahame, to offer you a pardon, on condition that you lay down your arms, and deliver up your ringleaders." "Tell your officer," said sir Robert, "that we are fully aware of the deception he practises. He is not clothed with any powers to treat, nor was he sent out to treat with us, and attempt a reconciliation. The government against whom we have risen, refuses to redress our grievances, or to restore us our liberties. Had the tyrant wished to render us justice, he had not sent by the hands of such a ferocious assassin as Claverhouse. Let him, however, show his powers, and we refuse not to treat. And we shall lay down our arms to treat, provided that he also lay down his. Thou hast my answer." "It is a hopeless cause," said Burley, while he called after the flag. "Let me add one word, by your leave, general—Get thee up to that bloody dragoon, Clavers, and tell him that we will spare his life, and the lives of his troops, on condition that he, your Clavers, lay down his arms, and the arms of these troops. We will do more; as we have no prisons on these wild mountains, we will even let him go on his parole, on condition that he swear never to lift arms against the religion and the liberties of his country." A loud burst of applause re-echoed from the ranks; and after a long pause in deep silence, the army sang the psalm yet sung in the Scottish churches.

"These arrows of the bow he break,
The shield, the sword, the war;
More glorious thou than hills of prey,
More excellent art far.

Those that are stout of heart are spoil'd,
They slept their sleep outright,
And none of them their hands did find,
That were the men of might." &c.

When the report was made to Claverhouse, he gave the word with a savage ferocity. "Their blood be on their own heads. Be *no quarters* the word this day."* His fierce dragoons raised a yell, and *no quarters* re-echoed from rank to rank, while they galloped down the mountain's side. It is stated that Burley was heard to say, "Then be it so—even let there be *no quarters*—at least in my wing of the host. So God send me a meeting," cried he aloud, "with that chief under the white plume. My country would bless my memory, could my sword give his villanous carcase to the crows."

Our raw troops beheld, with firmness, the approach of the foemen; and at the moment when the enemy halted to fire, the whole of our foot dropt on the heath. Not a man was seen to remain down, when the order was given to rise, and return the fire. The first rank fired, then kneeled down, while the second fired. They made each bullet tell. As often as the lazy rolling smoke was carried over the enemy's heads, a shower of bullets fell on his ranks. Many a gallant man tumbled on the heath. The fire was incessant. It resembled one blazing sheet of flame, for several minutes along the line of the covenanters. Clavers attempted to cross the morass, and break our centre. "Spearmen! to the front," I could hear the deep-toned voice of Hamilton say, "Kneel, and place your spears to receive the enemy's cavalry; and you, my gallant fellows, fire—*God and our Country,* is our word." Our officers flew from rank to rank. Not a peasant gave way that day. As the smoke rolled off, we could see Clavers urging on his men with the violence of despair. His troops fell in heaps around him, and still the gaps were filled up. A galled trooper would occasionally flinch; but ere he could turn or flee, the sword of Clavers was waving over his head. I could see him in his fury strike both man and horse. In the fearful carnage he himself sometimes reeled. He would stop short in the midst of a movement: then contradict his own orders, and strike the man because he could not comprehend his meaning.

He ordered flanking parties to take us on our right and left. "In the name of God," cried he, "cross the bog,

* This fact I find stated also in the "Scots Worthies," p. 408. Edinb. Edit. of 1812.

and charge them on the flanks, till we get over this morass. If this fail, we are lost."

It now fell to my lot to come into action. Hitherto we had fired only some distant shot. A gallant officer led his band down on the borders of the swamp, in search of a proper place to cross. We threw ourselves before him. A severe firing commenced. My gallant men fired with great steadiness. We could see many tumbling from their saddles. Not content with repelling the foemen, we found our opportunity to cross, and attacked them sword in hand. The captain, whose name I afterwards ascertained to be Arrol, threw himself in my path. In the first shock I discharged my pistols. His sudden start in his saddle told me that one of them had taken effect. With one of the tremendous oaths of Charles II. he closed with me. He fired his steel pistol—I was in front of him. My sword glanced on the weapon, and gave a direction to the bullet which saved my life. By this time my men had driven the enemy before them, and had left the ground clear for the single combat. As he made a lounge at my breast, I turned his sword aside, by one of those sweeping blows, which are rather the dictate of a kind of instict of self-defence, than a movement of art. As our strokes redoubled, my antagonist's dark features put on a look of deep and settled ferocity. No man, who has not encountered the steel of his enemy in the field of battle, can conceive the looks, and the manner of the warrior in the moments of his intense feelings. May I never witness them again. We fought in silence. My stroke fell on his left shoulder—it cut the belt of his carbine, which fell to the ground. His blow cut me to the rib, glanced along the bone, and rid me also of the weight of my carbine. He had now advanced too near me to be struck with the sword—I grasped him by the collar; I pushed him backward, and with an entangled blow of my ferrara I struck him across his throat. It cut only the strap of his headpiece, and it fell off. With a sudden spring he seized me by the sword belt—our horses reared, and we both came to the ground. We rolled on the heath in deadly conflict. It was in this situation of matters that my brave fellows had returned from the rout of the flanking party, to look after their commander. One of them was actually

rushing on my antagonist, when I called to him to retire.* We started to our feet. Each grasped his sword. We closed in conflict again. After parrying strokes of mine enemy, which indicated a hellish ferocity, I told him my object was to take him prisoner; that sooner than kill him, I should order my men to seize him. "Sooner let my soul be brandered on my ribs in hell," said he, "than be captured by a whigamore. *No quarter* is the word of my colonel, and my word. Have at thee whig—I dare the whole of you to the combat." "Leave the madman to me—leave the field instantly," said I to my party, whom I could hardly restrain. My sword fell on his right shoulder. His sword dropt from his hand. I lowered my sword, and offered him his life. "*No quarter*," said he with a shriek of despair. He snatched his sword, which I held in my hand, and made a plunge at my breast. I parried his blows, till he was nearly exhausted. But gathering up his huge limbs, he put forth all his energy in a thrust at my heart. My andro-ferrara received it so as to weaken its deadly force; but it made a deep cut. Though I was faint with loss of blood, I left him no time for another blow. My sword glanced on his shoulder, cut through his buff coat, and skin, and flesh; swept through his jaw, and laid open his throat from ear to ear. The fire of his ferocious eye was quenched in a moment. He reeled—and falling with a terrible clash, he poured out his soul with a torrent of blood on the heath. I sunk down insensible for a moment. My faithful men, who never lost sight of me, raised me up. In the fierce combat the soldier suffers most from thirst. I stooped down to fill my helmet with the water which oozed through the morass. It was deeply tinged with human blood, which flowed in the conflict above me. I started back with horror; and Gawn Witherspoon bringing up my steed, we set forward into the tumult of the battle.

All this while the storm of war had raged on our left. Cleland, and the fierce Burley, had charged the strong company sent to flank them. These officers permitted them to cross the swamp; then charged them with a ter-

* It was on this occasion that the laird used these words: "Bauldy Allison! let your officer settle this trifle—I never take odds to combat a foe, be he even a life-guard."

rible shout. "No quarter," cried the dragoons. "Be no quarter to you, then, ye murderous loons," cried Burley, and at one blow he cut their leader through the steel cap; and scattered his brains on his followers. His every blow overthrew a foeman. Their whole forces were now brought up, and they drove the dragoons of Clavers into the swamp. They rolled over each other. All stuck fast. The covenanters dismounted, and fought on foot. They left not one man to bear the tidings to their colonel.

The firing of the platoons had long ago ceased; and the dreadful work of death was carried on by the sword. At this moment a trumpet was heard in the rear of our army. There was an awful pause. All looked up. It was only the gallant capt. Nesbit, and his guide Woodburn of Mains. He had no reinforcement for us—but himself was a host. With a loud huzza and flourish of his sword, he placed himself by the side of Burley, and cried, "jump the ditch, and charge the enemy." He and Burley struggled through the marsh—the men followed as they could. They formed and marched on the enemy's right flank.

At this instant Hamilton and Hackstone brought forward the whole line of infantry in front. "God and our country," re-echoed from all the ranks. "No quarters," said the fierce squadrons of Clavers. Here commenced a bloody scene.

I seized the opportunity this moment offered to me, of making a movement on the left of the enemy, to save my friend King, and the other prisoners. We came in time to save them. Our swords speedily severed the ropes which tyranny had bound on the arms of the men. The weapons of the fallen foe supplied what was lacking of arms; and with great vigour we moved forward to charge the enemy on the left flank. Claverhouse formed a hollow square—himself in the centre. His men fought gallantly. They did all that soldiers could do in their situation. Wherever a gap was made, Clavers thrust the men forward, and speedily filled it up. Three times he rolled headlong on the heath, as he hastened from rank to rank, and as often he remounted. My little band thinned his ranks. He paid us a visit. Here I distinctly saw the features and shape of this far-famed man. He was small

of stature, and not well formed; his arms were long in proportion to his legs. He had a complexion unusually dark. His features were not lighted up with sprightliness, as some fabulously reported. They seemed gloomy as hell. His cheeks were lank and deeply furrowed. His eye-brows were drawn down, and gathered into a kind of knot at their junctions, and thrown up at their extremities. They had, in short, the strong expression given by our painters to the face of Judas Iscariot. His eyes were hollow; they had not the lustre of genius, nor the fire of vivacity. They were lighted up by that dark fire of wrath, which is kindled and fanned by an eternal anxiety, and consciousness of criminal deeds. His irregular and large teeth were presented through a smile which was very unnatural on his set of features. His mouth seemed to be unusually large, from the extremities being drawn backward and downward—as if in the intense application to something cruel and digusting. In short, his upper teeth projected over his under lip; and on the whole, presented to my view the mouth on the image of the emperor Julian Apostate. In one of his rapid courses past us, my sword could only shear off his white plume and a fragment of his buff coat. In a moment he was at the other side of his square. Our officers eagerly sought a meeting with him. "He has the proof of lead," cried some of our men. "Take the cold steel or a piece of silver." "No," cried Burley, "it is his rapid movement on that fine charger, that bids defiance to any thing like an aim, in the tumult of the bloody fray. I could sooner shoot ten heather-cocks on the wing, than one flying Clavers." At that moment, Burley, whose eye watched his antagonist, rushed into the hollow square. But Burley was too impatient. His blow was levelled at him before he came within its reach. His heavy sword descended on the head of Clavers' horse and felled him to the ground. Burley's men rushed pell mell on the fallen Clavers. But his faithful dragoons threw themselves upon them, and by their overpowering force drove Burley back. Clavers was in an instant on a fresh steed. His bugleman recalled the party who were driving back the flanking party of Burley. He collected his whole troops to make his last and des-

perate attack. He charged our infantry with such force that they began to reel. It was only for a moment. The gallant Hamilton snatched the white flag of the covenant and placed himself in the fore front of the battle. Our men shouted, "God and our country," and rallied under their flag. They fought like heroes. Clavers fought no less bravely. His blows were aimed at our officers. His steel fell on the helmet of Hackstone, whose sword was entangled in the body of a fierce dragoon, who had just wounded him. He was borne by his men into the rear. I directed my men on Clavers. "Victory or death," was their reply to me. Clavers received us. He struck a desperate blow, as he raised himself with all his force in the saddle. My steel cap resisted it. The second stroke I received on my ferrara, and his steel was shivered to pieces. We rushed headlong on each other. His pistol missed fire. It had been soaked in blood. Mine took effect. But the wound was not deadly. Our horses reared. We rolled on the ground. In vain we sought to grasp each other. In the melée men and horse tumbled on us. We were for a few moments buried under our men, whose eagerness to save their respective officers, brought them in multitudes upon us. By the aid of my faithful man Gaun, I had extricated myself from my fallen horse; and we were rushing on the bloody Clavers, when we were again literally buried under a mass of men. For Hamilton had by this time, brought up his whole line, and he had planted his standard where we and Clavers were rolling on the heath. Our men gave three cheers, and drove in the troops of Clavers. Here I was borne along by the moving mass of men. And almost suffocated, and faint with the loss of blood—I knew nothing more till I opened my eyes on my faithful atteudant. He had dragged me from the very grasp of the enemy, and had borne me into the rear—and was bathing my temples with water. We speedily regained our friends. And what a spectacle presented itself. It seemed that I beheld an immense moving mass heaped up together in the greatest confusion. Some shrieked; some groaned; some shouted; horses neighed and pranced; swords rung on the steel helmets. I placed around me a few of my hardy men, and we rushed into

the thickest of the enemy in search of Clavers. But it was in vain. At that instant his trumpet sounded the loud note of retreat; and we saw on a knoll Clavers borne away by his men. He threw himself on a horse, and without sword, without helmet, he fled in the first ranks of the retreating host.—His troops galloped up the hill in the utmost confusion. My little line closed with that of Burley's and took a number of prisoners. Our main body pursued the enemy two miles, and strewed the ground with men and horses. I could see the bare-headed Clavers in front of his men, kicking and struggling up the steep sides of Calder hill. He halted only a moment on the top to look behind him; then plunged his rowels into his horse and darted forward. Nor did he recover from his panic till he found himself in the city of Glasgow."

"And, my children," the laird would say, after he had told the adventures of this bloody day, "I visited the field of battle next day. I shall never forget the sight. Men and horses lay on their gory beds. I turned away from the horrible spectacle. I passed by the spot, where God saved my life in the single combat; and where the unhappy captain Arrol fell. I observed that in the subsequent fray, the body had been trampled upon by a horse; and his bowels were poured out.*—Thus, my children, the defence of our lives and the regaining of liberty and religion, has subjected us to severe trials. And how great must be the love of liberty, when it carries men forward, under the impulse of self-defence, to witness the most disgusting spectacles and to encounter the most cruel hardships of war."

* * * * * "After the ranks of the patriotic whigs were broken by overwhelming forces; and while Dalzell and Clavers swept the south and west of Scotland like the blast of the desert, breathing pestilence and death—the individual wanderers betook themselves to the caves and fastnesses of their rugged country. This was their situation, chiefly from A. D. 1680, to the revolution. The laird spent his days in seclusion: but still he fearlessly attended the weekly assemblies, in

* I find this fact recorded in Crookshank's Hist. vol. I. chap. 13. But the author does not mention the name of the laird by whom Arrol fell.

the fields, for the worship of Almighty God. What had he to fear? What more could he loose? His estate had been confiscated: his wife and babes stript, by the life guards, of the last remnant of earthly comfort, which they could take away: and himself doomed, as an outlaw, to be executed by these military assassins, when taken. He became reckless of the world. "I have lived," said he in anguish, "to see a prince twice, of his own choice, take the oath of the covenants to support religion, and the fundamental laws of the land. I have lived to see that prince turn traitor to his country: and with unblushing impiety, order these covenants to be burnt by the hands of the executioner. I have seen him subvert the liberty of my country, both civil and religious; I have seen him erect a bloody inquisition. The priests, imposed on us by tyranny, instead of wooing us over by the loveliness of religion, have thrown off the bowels of mercy. They occupy seats in the bloody council. They stimulate the cruelties of Lauderdale, M'Kenzie and York. Their hands are dipt in blood to the wrists. This council will not permit us to live in peace. Our property they confiscate. Our houses they convert into barracks. They drag free men into chains. They bring no witnesses of our guilt. They invent new tortures to convert us. They employ the thumbscrews and bootkins. If we are silent, they condemn us. If we confess our christian creed, they doom us to the gibbet. If we offer a defence, a judge rises from the bench, and with his naked sword wounds us.* Not only our sentence, but the manner of our execution are fixed before our trial. In our last moments they command the kettle drum to beat one continued roll. And when a strong sense of injustice extorts a complaint against our barbarous treatment, a military servant of the council, strikes the dying man in his last moments.† And as if this sanguinary process were too slow in extirpating us—I have seen Charles Stewart let loose a brutal soldiery on us . . . . on us who recalled him from exile; and who placed the crown on his head. He has murdered our men, our wives, and

* See an instance recorded in Scots' Worthies, p. 378, Edin. 1812.

† See an instance in Crookshank's Hist. vol. II. chap. 7. p. 127. Edit. of 1812.

our children. We have indeed formally renounced this tyrant by declaring war against him. But we have hitherto failed in the attempt to rouse the energies of our sleeping country. It is sunk into a deadly slumber. It has hitherto permitted the tyrant to keep us under martial law. Clavers is our judge. His dragoons are the executioners. And these savages do still continue to employ even the *sagacity of bloodhounds to hunt us down.* My soul turns away from these loathsome spectacles. They have cut in pieces the friends and companions of my youth. M'Kail, and Kid, and King, are no more. Cameron fell bleeding at my side. Hackstone they have cruelly butchered. My father Cargil—they could not spare even thee! Nor thee, dear young Renwick! Brown fell by the bloody Clavers, at the feet of his wife and crying babes. I have seen my friends and those in whose veins my blood runs, fall in the ranks on bloody Bothwell, as the golden flowers of the meadow beneath the mower's hand. I have seen the greedy axe of the inhuman executioner mangle the limbs of my dearest friends. I have seen the minions of tyranny perform their disgusting service of transporting and suspending, as on shambles, the bleeding limbs of the martyrs. I have seen the hammer of the barbarians fix the head of my companions on thy walls, O bloody Edinburgh. And Oh! disgusting spectacle! I have seen these forms, once dear to my soul as the light of heaven, become naked and bleached bones, under the rain and sun. I have lived to see the dreadful effects of civil war. The frequent butchery in fields, and on the scaffolds, has rendered men callous. The ghastly heads, and mangled quarters are set up before the mob. Mothers and children daily feast their eyes with the spectacle. Even delicate females roll their eyes over them without a shudder. Our sufferings are not felt; for the human bosom has lost its feelings. O God of my fathers! bend in mercy thine eyes on my bleeding country.... and on thy weeping kirk! Shall these men spread havoc without bounds! shall our blood stream in torrents! shall the Stewarts and their slaves bind these chains on the neck of our country and of thy kirk forever?"

The laird, while he was uttering these words, had

thrown himself on his knees. His arms were stretched forward and upward. His long hair, gray,—not by age, but by labours and sorrow, descended on his shoulders. His eyes, lighted up by hope, in the midst of despondency, were fixed on heaven. And the tears streaming over his sunburned cheeks, fell, in large drops from his beard on his girdle.

At this moment his brother John entered with looks which betrayed unusual anxiety. "My brother," said he, "you must resume these weapons, which your studious habits have thrown into the corner. Praying must give way to fighting now. A trooper advances at full speed. And he is followed by a dark column. We have not even time to fly." The mind of the laird, like those of the rest of the wanderers, always brightened up at the approach of danger. "I guessed some such tidings from that tragedy face of yours," said he: "Our perils are so great that they do not allow us time to vent our complaints," added he, as he girded on his sword, and put on his helmet. "Let us reconnoitre." What do I see? But one trooper? And that motley cloud is a rabble—not a troop. That trooper is not of Clavers' band. Nor does he belong to Douglas: nor to Inglis—nor to Strachan's dragoons. He waves a small flag—I can discover the scarlet and blue colour of the covenanter's flag. Ha! welcome you, John Howie of Lochgoin .... But what news? .... Lives our country? Lives "the good old cause?" "Glorious news!" exclaimed Howie, "Scotland forever! She is free. The tyrant James has abdicated. The Stewarts are banished by an indignant nation. Orange triumphs. Our wounds are binding up. Huzza! Scotland and king William and the covenant forever."

The laird made no reply. He laid his steel cap on the ground; and threw himself on his knees. He uttered a brief prayer—of which this was the close. "My bleeding country, and thy wailing kirk, and my brethren in the furnace have come in remembrance before thee..... For ever lauded be thy name." "Haste to the meeting at Lesmehago. Our friends, behind me you see, have already set out," said Howie. And he set off with enthusiastic ardour to spread the news.

"These news," said the laird, after a long pause, while his eyes followed the courser over the plains of Aven; "these news are to me as life from the dead: Our martial toils have not been unprofitable. Nor has our blood been shed in vain. We have at last roused our sleeping country. We have saved her. We have gained our civil and religious liberties. I feel a fresh vigour poured into my nerves. I feel already the full glow of liberty. I feel that I am a free man . . . . . and no tyrant's slave.—The parliament and the assembly will, I trust, set all things right again. My forfeiture shall be restored. And my wife and babes shall surround me in the domestic circle. And brother John, what is no small affair, . . . I shall now have a respite. . . . . far from the horrid din of war—quietly to finish that work, over which I have literally trimmed the midnight lamp: with my sword and musketoon lying before me. Gaun Witherspoon," said the laird in a higher tone, "call my moss-headed ostler, and let us have our horses. I have a mind to meet my old friends at Lesmehago. And, then, when serious business is dispatched, we can take Bothwell field on our return. It will yield me at least a melancholy pleasure to visit the spot where we fought, I trust, our last battle against the enemies of our country—and of the good old cause."

Serious matters of church and state having been discussed at the public meeting, the brothers found themselves, on the fourth day, on the battle ground of Bothwell.

"On that moor," said the laird, after a long silence—and without being conscious of it, he had, by a kind of instinct natural enough to a soldier, drawn his sword, and was pointing with it—"On that moor the enemy first formed under Monmouth. There on the right, Clavers led on the life guards, breathing fury, and resolute to wipe off the disgrace of the affair of Drumclog. Dalzell formed his men on that knoll. Lord Livingstone led his van of the foemen. We had taken care to have Bothwell Bridge strongly secured by a barricade. And our little battery of cannon was planted on that spot below us, in order to sweep the bridge. And we did rake it. The foemen's blood streamed there. Again and again, the troops of the tyrant marched on: and our cannon annihilated their

columns. Sir Robert Hamilton was our commander in chief. The gallant general Hackstone stood on that spot with his brave men. Along the river, and above the bridge, Burley's foot, and capt. Nesbit's dragoons were stationed. For one hour we kept the enemy in check. They were defeated in every attempt to cross the Clyde. Livingstone sent another strong column to storm the bridge. I shall never forget the effect of one fire from our battery, where my men stood. We saw the line of the foe advance in all the military glory of brave and beautiful men. The horses pranced—the armour gleamed. In one moment nothing was seen but a shocking mass of mortality. Human limbs, and the bodies and limbs of horses, were mingled in one huge heap; or blown to a great distance. Another column attempted to cross above the bridge. Some threw themselves into the current. One well directed fire from Burley's troops threw them into disorder, and drove them back. Meantime, while we were thus warmly engaged, Hamilton was labouring to bring down the different divisions of our main body into action. But in vain he called on col. Cleland's troop—in vain he ordered Henderson's to fall in—in vain he called on col. Fleming's. Hackstone flew from troop to troop. All was confusion. In vain he besought, he entreated, he threatened. Your disputes, and fiery misguided zeal, my brother, contracted a deep and deadly guilt that day. The whig turned his arms, in fierce hate, that day against his own vitals. Our chaplains Cargil, and King, and Kid, and Douglas, interposed again and again. Cargil mounted the pulpit; he preached peace; he called aloud for mutual forbearance. "Behold the banners of the enemy," cried he; "hear ye not the fire of the foe, and of our own brethren? Our brothers and fathers are falling beneath their sword. Hasten to their aid. See the flag of the covenant. See the motto in letters of gold. "Christ's crown and covenant." Hear the voice of your weeping country. Hear the wailings of the bleeding kirk. Banish discord; and let us, as a band of brothers, present a bold front to the foemen. Follow me, all ye who love their country and the covenant. I go to die in the fore front of the battle." All the ministers and officers followed him, amidst a flourish of trumpets; but the great

body remained to listen to the harangues of the factious. We sent again and again for ammunition. My men were at the last round. Treachery, or a fatal error, had sent a barrel of raisins instead of powder. My heart sunk within me, while I beheld the despair on the faces of my brave fellows, as I struck out the head of the vessel. Hackstone called his officers to him. We threw ourselves around him. "What must be done?" said he in an agony of despair. "Conquer, or die!" we said as if with one voice; "we have our swords yet. Lead back the men, then, to their places, and let the ensigns bear down the white and scarlet colours. *Our God and our country* be the word." Hackstone rushed forward. We ran to our respective corps—we cheered our men, but they were languid and dispirited. Their ammunition was nearly expended, and they seemed anxious to husband what remained. They fought only with their carbines. The cannons could no more be loaded. The enemy soon perceived this. We saw a troop of horse approach the bridge. It was that of the life guards. I recognised the plume of Clavers. They approached in rapid march. A solid column of infantry followed. I sent a request to capt. Nesbit to join his troop to mine. He was in an instant with us. We charged the life guards. Our swords rung on their steel caps. Many of my brave lads fell on all sides of me. But we hewed down the foe. They began to reel. The whole column was kept stationary on the bridge. Clavers' dreadful voice was heard, more like the yell of a savage, than the commanding voice of a soldier. He pushed forward his men; and again we hewed them down. A third mass was pushed up. Our exhausted dragoons fled. Unsupported, I found myself by the brave Nesbit and Paton, and Hackstone. We looked for a moment's space in silence on each other. We galloped in front of our retreating men. We rallied them. We pointed to the general almost alone. We pointed to the white and to the scarlet colours floating near him. We cried "*God and our country.*" They faced about. We charged Clavers once more. "Torfoot," cried Nesbit, "I dare you to the fore front of the battle." We rushed up at full gallop. Our men seeing this, followed also at full speed. We broke the enemy's line, bearing down

those files which we encountered. We cut our way through their ranks. But they had now lengthened their front. Superior numbers drove us in. They had gained the entire possession of the bridge. Livingstone and Dalzell were actually taking us on the flank. A band had got between us and Burley's infantry. "My friends," said Hackstone to his officers, "we are the last on the field. We can do no more. We must retreat. Let us attempt, at least, to bring aid to the deluded men behind us. They have brought ruin on themselves and on us. Not Monmouth, but our divisions have scattered us."

At this moment one of the life-guards aimed a blow at Hackstone. My sword received it; and a stroke from Nesbit laid the foeman's hand and sword in the dust. He fainted, and tumbled from his saddle. We reined our horses, and galloped to our main body. But what a scene presented itself here! These misguided men had their eyes now fully opened on their fatal errors. The enemy were bringing up their whole force against them. I was not long a near spectator of it; for a ball grazed my courser. He plunged and reared; then shot off like an arrow. Several of our officers drew to the same place. On a knoll we faced about. The battle raged below us. We beheld our commander doing every thing that a brave soldier could do with factious men, against an overpowering foe. Burley and his troops were in close conflict with Clavers' dragoons. We saw him dismount three troopers with his own hand. He could not turn the tide of battle; but he was covering the retreat of these misguided men. Before we could rejoin him, a party threw themselves in our way. We formed, and received them. Kennoway, one of Clavers' officers, led them on. "Would to God that this were Grahame himself," some of my comrades ejaculated aloud. "He falls to my share," said I, "whoever the officer be." I advanced; he met me. I parried several thrusts. He received a cut on the left arm; and the sword by the same stroke, shore off one of his horse's ears; it plunged and reared. We closed again. I received a severe stroke on the left shoulder. My blow fell on his sword arm. He reined his horse around, retreated a few paces, then returned at full gallop. My courser reared instinctively as

his approached. I received his stroke on the back of my ferrara, and by a back stroke I gave him a deep cut on the cheek; and before he could recover a position of defence, my sword fell, with a terrible blow, on his steel cap. Stunned by the blow, he bent himself forward, and grasping the mane, he tumbled from his saddle; and his steed galloped over the field. I did not repeat the blow. His left hand presented his sword; his right arm was disabled: his life was given to him. My companions having disposed of their antagonists (and some of them had two a-piece) we paused to see the fate of the battle. Dalzell and Livingstone were riding over the field like furies, cutting down all in their way. Monmouth was galloping from rank to rank, and calling on his men to give quarters. Clavers, to wipe off the disgrace of Drumclog, was committing fearful havoc. "Can we not find Clavers," said Halhead. "No," said capt. Paton, "the gallant colonel takes care to have a solid guard of his rogues about him. I have sought him over the field, but I found him, as I now perceive him, with a mass of his guards about him." At this instant we saw our general, at some distance, disentangling himself from the men who had tumbled over him in the melè. His face, and hands, and clothes were covered with gore. He had been dismounted, and was fighting on foot; we rushed to the spot, and cheered him; our party drove back the scattered bands of Dalzell. "My friends," said sir Robert, as we mounted him on a stray horse, "the day is lost! but you, Paton, you, Brownlee of Torfoot, and you, Halhead, let not that flag fall into the hands of these incarnate devils. We have lost the battle; but, by the grace of God, neither Dalzell nor Clavers shall say that he took our colours. My ensign has done his duty. He is down. This sword has saved it twice—I leave it to your care; you see its perilous situation." He pointed with his sword to the spot, we collected some of our scattered troops, and flew to the place. The standard bearer was down, but he was still fearlessly grasping the flag-staff; while it was borne upright by the mass of men who had thrown themselves, in fierce contest, around it. Its well-known blue and scarlet colours, and its motto, "*Christ's crown and covenant,*" in brilliant gold letters, inspired us with a sacred enthu-

siasm. We gave a loud cheer to the wounded ensign, and rushed into the combat. The redemption of that flag cost the foe many a gallant man. They fell beneath our broad swords, and with horrible execrations dying on their lips, they gave up their souls to their Judge.

Here I met in front that ferocious dragoon of Clavers, named Tam Halliday, who had more than once, in his raids, plundered my halls; and had snatched the bread from my weeping babes. He had just seized the white staff of the flag, but his tremendous oath of exultation (we of the covenant never swear) had scarcely passed its polluted threshold, when this andro-ferrara fell on the guard of his steel, and shivered it to pieces. "Recreant loon!" said I, "thou shalt this day remember thy evil deeds." Another blow on his helmet laid him at his huge length, and made him bite the dust. In the melè that followed, I lost sight of him. We fought like lions, but with the hearts of Christians. While my gallant companions stemmed the tide of battle, the standard, rent to tatters, fell across my breast. I tore it from the staff, and wrapt it round my body. We cut our way through the enemy, and carried our general off the field.

Having gained a small knoll, we beheld once more the dreadful spectacle below. Thick volumes of smoke and dust rolled in a lazy cloud over the dark bands mingled in deadly fray. It was no longer a battle, but a massacre. In the struggle of my feelings, I turned my eyes on the general and Paton; I saw in the face of the latter an indescribable conflict of passions. His long and shaggy eyebrows were drawn over his eyes. His hand grasped his sword. "I cannot yet leave the field," said the undaunted Paton. "With the general's permission, I shall try to save some of our wretched men, beset by these hell hounds. Who will go? At Kilsyth I saw service. When deserted by my troop, I cut my way through Montrose's men, and reached the spot where colonels Hacket and Strachan were. We left the field together. Fifteen dragoons attacked us, we cut down thirteen, and two fled; thirteen next assailed us, we left ten on the field, and three fled; eleven highlanders next met us; we paused, and cheered each other. "Now, Johnny," cried Hacket to me, "put forth your mettle, else we are gone." Nine

others we sent after their comrades, and two fled.* Now, who will join this raid?" "I will be your leader," said sir Robert, as we fell into the ranks. We marched on the enemy's flank. "Yonder is Clavers," said Paton, while he directed his courser on him. The bloody man was at that moment, nearly alone, hacking to pieces some poor fellows already on their knees, and disarmed, and imploring him by the common feelings of humanity to spare their lives. He had just finished his usual oath against their "*feelings of humanity*," when Paton presented himself. He instantly let go his prey, and slunk back into the midst of his troopers. Having formed them, he advanced. We formed, and made a furious onset. At our first charge his troop reeled. Clavers was dismounted; but at that moment Dalzell assailed us on the flank and rear. Our men fell around us like grass before the mower. The bugleman sounded a retreat. Once more in the melè I fell in with the general and Paton. We were covered with wounds. We directed our flight in the rear of our broken troops. By the direction of the general, I had unfurled the standard. It was borne off the field, flying at the sword's point—but that honor cost me much. I was assailed by three fierce dragoons, five followed close in their rear; I called to Paton; in a moment he was by my side—I threw the standard to the general, and we rushed on the foe. They fell beneath our swords; but my faithful steed, which had carried me through all my dangers, was mortally wounded—he fell. I was thrown in among the fallen enemy; I fainted. I opened my eyes on misery—I found myself in the presence of Monmouth, a prisoner, with other wretched creatures, waiting, in awful suspense, their ultimate destiny." * * * * *

"Bloody Bothwell field! on thee fell a host of my brave companions. On thee twelve hundred prisoners were stript, and laid on the cold ground; till driven, like sheep, to the shambles of the council. On thee flourished the bloody conspiracy against the liberty of my country,

* This chivalrous defence is recorded, I find, in the life of capt. Paton, in the "Scots' Worthies," Edinb. edit. of 1812. This celebrated officer was trained up to warfare in the army of Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden. This is a specimen of those heroic whigs, who brought about the revolution of A. D. 1688.

and against our holy religion. Bloody Bothwell field! mine eyes shall never behold thee more."———

The laird reined his steed, and they set off, at full gallop, on the way which led them to Strathaven. "*Had the deil been a hint him, and Jamie Clavers afore him, he could nae hae gaen faster,*" uncle John used to say; nor (his mind was so full of his subject) did he stop till he reached the plains where the crystal Geel mixes its torrent with the dark Aven.

The sun was pouring the last beams of day over the heights of Drumclog, and far below, in the peaceful and lovely dale of Aven, the smoke of the evening fires was rising in lazy volumes over the mansion and the cottages. "Now lauded be his name," said the laird, as he stopt short, and felt the visions of Bothwell and Ayresmore passing away from before his eyes; "the storm of war is blown over; sweet peace has spread her wings over our fields and in our halls—nor shall the joyful day be soon forgotten; *a sheep's head and a rich haggis,* our national dishes, shall annually smoke on my board, on the day that commemorates the return of peace—and welcome, and a God's speed to every guest who hails the day!

Tradition says that a sheep's head and haggis, with the other solidities of a feast, were served up to all the surviving companions of his toils; and that he dismissed them with presents, answering to the poverty of his means; then, indeed, but small, in consequence of the raids of Clavers:—that after he had comforted his family, and put things in their usual train, as in peaceful times, he called his attendant, Gawen Witherspoon, "put my chamber in order," said he, "and set forth my writing utensils. Bring out my three-legged table—Jamie Grahame has left me no better for a writing desk—it is *bruckle gear,* to be sure, but it will serve my purpose. Then, Gawen, you may bring out my doublet and hose from my peace wardrobe; a polemic should not have weapons of war about him, nor any thing that might remind him of violence. I shall exchange my buff coat for the velvets, the steel cap shall give place to the velvet cap, and these huge jack-boots, which have weathered all storms, shall be displaced for the broad-toed slippers, and the gray goose quill shall take the place of this

andro-ferrara. It is enough—now hang up my weapons, after you shall have diligently scoured them; my sword and musquetoon are, by God's grace, never to be again put in requisition; but, Gawen, they must not rust. Let them tell my children, and my children's children, what was done and suffered by their *forebears*, to restore the reign of law and of liberty. And, Gawen, you may hand me out these manuscripts. Those are the three indices. That—let me see—is my *pagan* index. The outlines of the Platonic philosophy are painfully chalked out here. That is my *doctrinal*, and that my *historical* index. These loose sheets are the papers of the two Barclays—the col. and his son, Robert. The col. was a gallant soldier, and an honest man; but the son is, with all his amiableness, an incorrigible sophist. The *callan*, I do think, Gawen, has been polluted by papistrie. I am sure of it. The gallant col. would not believe me; but the lad was in the talons of his monk uncle of Paris. That heavy book—it's heavy in mair senses than ane, Gawen—ay, that is his '*Apology for the True Christian Divinity*.' 'Puh-hu!' as Clavers used to interject, when out of patience; the lad, though fresh from a monk's cell, absolutely defies all the learning and divinity of Europe. The col. was always a modest man, I wish I could say the same of the son. Lay these loose papers on the *buffet stool*; they are precious specimens of George Fox. He was an extraordinary head-piece, that same George Fox. There's no accounting for things—we are scarcely free agents in these matters. Had even brother John told me that I was born to be a *polemic*, I should have laughed him to scorn; I was led into this quaker controversy by frequent, but the most perfect good-natured debates with Sanders Hamilton in the caves, and in the *Darn-houm* of Loudon hill. He was a kind of outrè, muddy-headed child, led infinitely more by a dreamy fancy than a clear intellect; though I used to give him credit that he was, in one respect, like Mr. William Penn. In speech and writing he never failed in having the last word; and his vociferations rung on our ears like a volley from the life-guards. This Sanders Hamilton had actually the honor of setting up the first quaker meetings in Scotland. He set them up at my very *lug*, in my neighbour Drumboy's

house.* We (I always include my associates, the gallant worthies who honoured my hall in the *killing times*) have cleared this county nearly of the pest. Why, Gawen, of their once large meetings, there are now no remains but the melancholy remnant of mortality—their graves! though I knew not of one who died for his religion. There, for instance, at Glassford, are nothing but the graves of the fathers; the youth have been converted. You can easily know their graves, my son, [the young laird had put in a question on this subject] for as they differed from all men when living, so they seemed determined to differ from all men when dead. All the world, you know, place the head respectfully to the west; they inter always with the head to the east. But Scotland, as well as the county of Lanark and of Ayr, must be purged of them—that is, if decent treatment can do it—so let me proceed, for

Hæc contentio utilis est mortalbus.i

as Longinus quotes out of Hesiod. * * *

Gawen shut the door, with a low bow, and leading away the children, he left the laird to his lucubrations.

* * * * This venerable man lived to a good old age. He died in the early part of the reign of the First George. When he felt the hour of his dissolution drawing nigh, he summoned his spouse and children around his couch, and delivered solemn instructions and admonitions to each individual. He took an affectionate leave of his spouse; he raised her hand to his lip, then placed it in the hand of the young laird, while he whispered forth these words: "Now I go the way of all the earth; I leave off converse with all temporal things—I have fought a good fight—I have finished my course—I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." He paused in a long and deep silence—a beam of joy lighted up his face; he added in a low whisper, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." He stretched himself out on his couch, and raising his quivering hands

* This corresponds with the statement of Sewel. Hist. of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 171. Edit. of A. D. 1821.

to his head, he closed his eyes with his own hands, and was gathered unto his fathers.

I have not translated the following note of the laird, as I have his other pieces. The reader may easily perceive the reason.

"I pretermit quhat micht bee sayd anent the menny difficultys quhilk I hae met wi, in collectin thae materials, quhilk ye sall fin in the muckle linen frock, containin the perchments and uther instruments o' writin belongin to this lairdship. In this bludy laun, for mony a lang yeer, the logic o' the sword hais bin mair resourted till, than ony o' Aristotle's argumentationes: or, weel I wait, than ony ither o' the skulemen. Coonsel and arguements hae brocht on sair dauds. Baith gentlemen, an simple men harle, in upo a' occasions, the bludy maximes o' papistrie. They enlichten and convert myndes by hard knockes. And they hae stuck dourly and dreichly till't. The best champion amang us haes been sairly forefochen; not by spritely raisons, but by blauds."

* * * * * *

"I hae had muckle tyme, I grant, and mony gude opportunities. But, oich me kintry! Scotland's no the richt plaice for finishing sic works. In a laun whare toleration is gifted free to ilka ane, the deevers secks wull ay put oot their horns, like snails at eese on their moist and mossy braes, fearlessly. An' they'll beek on the bonny sinny knows. And they'll streek themselves out, a' their fu' lenthis in the sheelins. They ken nae enemy. They hae nae dreed o' violence. They fear nocht for themsels. They knaw nae weak side they hae. Their hale bouks are rouled out, at their greusome lenthis, butt dreed, or fear, into the licht. To get mine een on this new seck, amang the lave, beeking at its full lenthis, butt fear or dreed, was what I did graitly desiderate. But I might not see it. It was na God's gude wull. Althocht I was ains richt neer it, after the cooncel bannished me.

"But I hae, noo, nae doot that sum o' me hairns, or aiblins, sum o' my bairns' bairns, wull migrate to that

laun o' free toleration. Twa raisons hae suggested the thocht—1°. The love of liberty, whilk I inheerited frae me forbears; an' quhilk I hae ay lauboured, butt rusing ony o' my ain feckless sarvices, to empreint stedfastlike on your myndes, that will urge ye to seek that laun. 2°. Thae grawin colonies wull, sum daie, become a graite nation. An' they sall be ane asylum to the oppressit o' a' nations."

"I deposite, thairfoir, in the sayd linen frock, all and haill o' the mateerials collected. Let them gae doon as ane heir-loom in the feemily; till sum ane o' me bairns, sall, under God, compleet the wark; out o' the rich materials to be had in the toon of that singulair and graite mann, Maister William Penn, in the province of Pennsylvania; and in the province of Cæsarea, (New Jersey) over quhilk Robert Barclay, the sunne of my maist worthie auld frien' col. Barclay, was sum tyme governor in chief. There, gif the bruit be treuth, there are mony o' freends o' the genuine auld stamp." * * * *

Torfoot, July 19, A. D. 1718.
In me chree score an' eleventh year.
O Lord when wilt thoo deleever!
Cum, Lord Jesus!

TO THE READER.

The polemic is often viewed with distrust and jealousy. We live too remote from the impulse of a Reformation to feel a just interest in theological discussions. In this age of divisions, we have ceased to wonder, even at daring innovations; and Mammon has breathed a withering blast over us, which chills the spirit of investigation. Each sectary urges the clamorous plea for charity; and, too often, around the most deformed systems, its mantle has been thrown by the hand of ignorance and religious indifference. The charity which "rejoices in the truth," blooms not in its wonted loveliness. It has been degraded, by the crowd, into a wild and hackneyed thing, whose smiles are bestowed, promiscuously, on error and on truth.

Religious inquiry, and even controversy, is perfectly consistent with the loveliest exercise of charity. It may be so gracefully conducted, as to be made to bear along with it the best proofs of its being the offspring of charity. The spirit that disgraced the polemic of ancient times is no longer countenanced. The religious public will soon frown into oblivion the volume which offers violence to the grace of brotherly love. It demands that politeness and courtesy should preside over religious debates. Polemics have been taught to distinguish between the principles and the man: to recognise the man as a brother, while they frankly expose his heresy. They have arrived at a higher distinction: they have set out on this ground—that the salvation of the soul is, with all its importance, something subordinate to the glory of God; and that, therefore, in choosing a system of religion, there is a higher motive to be kept in view than the attainment of salvation. To glorify the Deity is the first; to reach heaven in safety is the second motive that gives the impulse. Hence, in fixing our religious system, the question is not "Who shall arrive in heaven?" On that

all christians are agreed. "All who love our Lord Jesus Christ shall be saved infallibly." But the object of inquiry is this: In journeying to heaven, by what religious system shall we promote, in the highest degree, the glory of Almighty God? Undoubtedly by that in which the perfect purity of Christ's doctrines, and the entire number of his ordinances, put forth their energies over the human mind.

The man who does rest on Jesus Christ as the only foundation, but who, unhappily, in the hour of temptation, builds on it inferior materials—"hay or stubble"—shall, indeed, be saved; but he shall "suffer loss," in that day of joy, when the *different degrees of glory* shall be assigned to each by the Great Judge of us all.*

It is, therefore, charity in one of its loveliest movements, that prompts the christian to raise his voice and to expose to his fellow men the dangers and the losses which necessarily arise out of error.

MAXIMS.

The following Maxims are submitted to the Society of Friends, and to all those who will follow me through the discussion of this subject. I trust that the reader will yield to them as to first principles, or Axioms.

PART I.

1. That is not charity which yields up, through friendship or courtesy, doctrines obviously revealed; which pays court to error; which makes error and truth indifferent; which separates sound sentiments from sound morals.

2. To expose the defects and errors of a system does not, surely, imply that we render no homage to the virtues and worth of its authors and followers. It is not persecution. The conscience of man can not be justly under any human restraint. All ought to have an unshackled toleration; but let the press be free to expose errors;

* See 1 Cor. iii. 89, &c.

this is all we claim. And as the investigation and exposure of errors in politics never has been deemed persecution, why should it be deemed so in religion? To teach and convince by arguments, a man of his errors, can no more trench on his rights than to teach and convince him of the truth.

3. To form an estimate of the truth and importance of radical doctrines, from the amiable characters merely of those with whom one associates, and whom one loves, is surely no proof of a sound or an accomplished mind. It can be nothing else than sheer prejudice.

4. Human opinions cannot be the *standard of divine truth*—much less opinions formed through the partialities of friendship, or of men of influence.

5. Amiable manners and decent morals cannot be the test of orthodoxy, or the standard of *divine truth.* The young and accomplished moralist, whom Jesus looked on with approbation of his morals so far as they went, did yet "lack" the most necessary part of the character of the good man and of a sound mind; and he confirmed the proof of this fatal lack, by turning his back on the Lord Jesus.

The morals of the christian, and the morals of the amiable and refined man may appear, to the superficial, and to the patrons of *morality without a christian principle*, to resemble each other, and even to be the same. In the judgment of the church they are radically different. *Those* are always founded in truth and in faith as their basis, and are warm from the heart. *These* are the mere external polish—the creatures of circumstance. *Those* are the fruits which a vital principle of grace sends forth into light in all their richness and flavour. *These* are the fortuitous effects of a mind bland and polished, but a stranger to the doctrines of the Lord Jesus, and to the theory and experience of the "new birth."

6. Sincerity is not the test of orthodoxy, nor *the standard of divine truth.* The ignorant and fatally erroneous are as capable of sincerity as the enlightened philosopher and the intelligent christian. We have no reason to question the sincerity of the Unitarian, of the Jew, of the Moslem: yet who would say that they are all right, or orthodox, because they are sincere?

Lastly. To pronounce on the truth of religious opinions, from their influence merely on the face of society, has involved men in a series of errors. It is a presumptuous agitating of the question, whether the doctrines of Revelation have an intrinsic worth and importance. It is a deciding, by the puny intellect of man, that they have only an extrinsic worth. It is a keeping out of view, during the whole investigation, the bearing which these doctrines have on the *truth and perfections of Deity.* It is a declaring that the orthodoxy of opinions, and systems, is to be determined from their benefiting society—or at least from their not injuring it;—while the lie may be given by these systems to the sacred truth of Deity, and the holiest of his perfections may be dishonoured.

PART II.

1. God only has a right to dictate to man's conscience.

2. The law which God has dictated is the perfect and only standard of doctrine, through the influence of the Holy Ghost. And such is the clearness, and abundant fulness of the Holy Word, that every essential doctrine, and the true meaning of every passage, may, by the aids of the Holy Spirit, be determined from the parallel passages. The shallow and the indolent alone will exclaim, "The heretic, as the church calls him, may be as correct as she: he has a conscience and a mind to investigate as well as she." This is the stale objection of the old Catholics against the Holy Scriptures, and it involves two errors:—it is predicated on the supposition that the human mind is the arbiter of the truth; and that the scriptures are so obscure that we cannot determine from them any definite truth—that error, as easily as truth, may be sustained from the pure word of God.

3. Almighty God has set the seal of his authority on every item of doctrine, as well as every item of law in his sacred word. He has dictated to our intellectual powers as well as to our moral powers.* He enjoins on us the duty of believing every truth which he has uttered, as much as of obeying every law which he has sanctioned. He has as truly said, *All these doctrines of my word are*

* Stapferi Theol. Polem. vol. iv. sect. 1. p. 335.

true, and thou shalt believe them with all thy soul—as he has said, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve.*

4. Man is bound to yield to God the entire services of his intellectual and moral powers. To assert that a man may mean well, and be immoral—or that he may be a good moralist, and yet revolt against God in the moral exercise of his heart—or that he may please by his good work, and yet deny with his lips, and disbelieve in his heart those doctrines which his Creator has dictated to him, and enjoined on him to believe, are surely the most glaring contradictions.

Hence 5. In a moral agent, who owes the entire allegiance of his soul and conduct, the best deportment and morals cannot compensate for the want of a right faith, nor atone for the rebellion of the heart against its God.

Hence 6. A man may be a rebel against his Creator as much by his *sincere, yet erroneous belief,* as by his *immoral conduct.* The first is as much opposed to God's truth as the last is opposed to his justice. By the first he *gives the lie to God's truth,* and persists in "making God a liar." By the last he offers violence to the laws of his Creator. By the first the corrupt mind puts forth its malice with as much malignity as by the last. The only difference is, that the first is *not so evident before the eyes of men.* But that does not touch the question of their being equally "open and naked before the eyes of Him with whom we have to do."

PART III.

In the christian system there are certain doctrines interwoven with its very existence. All christians believe, them : "they are the sayings of the faithful." And while they respect the entire liberty of conscience, all christians turn aside from those who deny them, and refuse them communion. The following are of this class:

1. There is one God. He is in his essence undivided and indivisible. He possesses every perfection. The *manner* of his existence is as necessary as his existence itself; or, he is as *necessarily* what he is, as he *necessarily* is. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." "And God said, let us make man in OUR image." "God

sent his Son." "This is my beloved Son"—and as these words were uttered, the "Holy Ghost descended on him." Thus in the essence there is a plurality. Sometimes these are even more distinctly specified. "There are three that bear record in heaven—the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." The Father is very God; the Word is very God; the Holy Ghost is very God. They are *three* in one sense, and *one* in another sense.

2. Man's total depravity. Rom. v. 12. &c.

3. The necessity of regeneration. John iii. 3.

4. The reality and perfection of the atonement by our Lord Jesus Christ.

5. Justification before God, through faith in Christ. Gal. ii. 16.

6. Justification before the Church and the world, by good works. James, ii. 24.

7. Sanctification by the Holy Spirit.

8. The resurrection of the body from the grave. John v. 28, 29.

9. "Eternal life," and "eternal punishment." Matth. xxv. 46.

*** See the Confessions, Articles, and Creeds of the different sections of the christian church—American, English, Scottish, Dutch, French, Irish, &c.

PART IV.

A polemic has not to enter the lists with the private opinions of the individuals of a sect, nor with the loose and vague ideas that float in society. The true opinions of every society lie before the public in their approved writings. These are fairly open to discussion; their publication of them has in it the nature of an open challenge —and who can blame the man that takes up the gauntlet? They are the *assailants*—I am the *defendant*.

PART I.

AN

HISTORICAL VIEW

OF THE

OPINIONS, AND OF THE ORIGIN, RISE, PROGRESS, &c.

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,

COMMONLY CALLED QUAKERS.

"Mihi Galba, Otho Vitellius nec beneficio nec injuria cogniti."

TACITUS.

" We are just considered as a good sort of people in the main; who refuse " to fight, and to swear, and to pay tythes; and while the improved manners " of the age allow that for these, and other singularities, we ought not to be " molested, the public, in general, cares little further about us, and seldom " inquires a reason of the hope in us."....Quak. of A. D. 1811. Mosh. vol. iv. p. 294. New York edit. of 1821.

AN HISTORICAL DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORIGIN, RISE, &c.

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

"We do not wish to meddle with those called Mystics, or to adopt many of their expressions."—Religious Society called Quakers, 1799.

§ 1. All systems of christian doctrine, which lay claims to consistency, have certain first principles, on which, as their basis, the whole superstructure rests.

The first principles of the religious system of the Friends are reducible to two classes. The first respects the character of Deity; the second, the nature of the human soul. On their opinions respecting these two subjects, rests the peculiarity of all their religious sentiments—complicated and mysterious as they may seem to be at first view.

I. On the first of these articles there is, unquestionably, something like a very serious defect in their system. According to their approved writers, the Deity does, indeed, possess the perfection of justice. But it is not that justice which does make an atonement by the *real* sufferings and *real* death of an *outward* mediator, indispensably necessary. The Deity, they teach, can pardon sin without *such* shedding of blood.* They admit that

* Penn, vol. ii. pp. 13, 529, 530, folio edition of his works, A. D. 1726.

"there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost." But from the variety, and the obscurity of their opinions, it is difficult to ascertain whether they follow the bare theory of Plato's *triad;* or embrace the modifications of this by Sabellius, or those of Socinus. But their trinity is not the trinity of the holy scriptures. They admit of no distinction between the sacred persons of the most Holy Trinity. They deny, in the most decided terms, that there are three *distinct* divine persons, equal in power and glory, united in the ONE GODHEAD. The word and the spirit are, in their system, the same thing; and *these are*, moreover, *the Father*—and they reject the word person from their system as altogether improper.*

II. Of the soul. On this subject they discover more clearly those opinions which distinguish them from every other sect of christians. "The soul," say they, "came out of God, and is of him, and is *part of him.*"† The soul of man, simply as such, is not the very essence of God. But as God "breathed into man the breath of life, and he became a living soul," it is of God, it is of his being; and that which comes out of God is *a part of God.*‡ And to illustrate his meaning, Penn quotes a Jewish expositor on Genesis ii. 17, and embodies his idea into their system. "God inspired man *with something of his own substance.* He bestowed *something of his own divinity* on him. He inspired him with the Holy Ghost."

The soul, which is "a part of God," is, by Christ, brought up again *into God*, whence it came, whereby *they came to be one soul.*‖ Hence, at death, the soul and spirit of man is centred into its own being with God; and this form of person returns whence it is taken—into the essence and being of God.§

The soul being of this divine origin, possesses a measure of the spirit of God. "This divine principle is a divine light in

* See a more full inquiry into this subject in chap. 7, part ii, following.

† Fox's Great Mystery, pp. 29, 91, 273, &c. ancient edit. Penn, vol. ii. p. 521. See also the "Snake in the Grass," sec. 2.

‡ Penn, vol. ii. p 521.

‖ Fox's Great Myst. pp. 91, 100, 229, ancient edit.—and their rabbi, S. Fisher, who treated Doctor Owen as an *illiterate rustic*, has expressed the same opinion. See his "Velata quædam revelata," p. 13, and Penn's Defence of it, in vol. ii. p. 296.

§ Burroughs's Dying Words—See pref. to his works, fol. 1672, and Fox ut supra.

man. This internal guide every man brings into the world with him. Man is fallen from his primitive dignity and excellence. In his body there is an evil seed or principle. This opposes with violence, and presses down the holy seed within. But if man, by proper means, does cultivate the holy seed, it will spring up: it illumines all within: it is the Christ in us who speaks in whispers: it teaches us all that is necessary to salvation: it purifies and elevates the soul to divinity. These means are not labour, nor study. Learning is useless and even hurtful. The means are solitude, silence, contemplation, and *introversion.* This last includes the suspension of *carnal reason*, and of wisdom, and of judgment: and thence the bending of the whole soul inward to the dictates of the holy light. During this mental labour the holy seed struggles with the evil seed: its success is, for a time, doubtful; at last it rises, in the power of God, over all opposition. This they call the sufferings of Christ—for Christ in them offers up a sacrifice to God for them.* Its success in rising over the corrupt nature is Christ's resurrection. By binding down the evil seed, or by hurling it out of the soul, it justifies us before God. In the same manner it sanctifies and elevates man to sinless perfection. This victory is, however, not easily obtained. The opposition created by the evil seed is often most violent. Hence the soul is filled with horror, and the body *quakes* and *trembles* as the leaf before the wind. Finally, the human body, composed of the gross materials of flesh and blood, is the prison of the soul in this world. But it is dissolved at death, and crumbles into dust. The soul then receives a subtle and luciform and etherial body, in which it shall exist forever: and hence there is no resurrection of the *same body* from the grave.†

§ 2. Notwithstanding the assertions of the Friends to the contrary, it has been constantly maintained by the learned, that the peculiar tenets of the Society are Platonic, or mystic. It is but justice to the Society to set the proofs before them, that they may judge if it be fairly made out.‡

* Smith's Catech. and Penn. ii. 410. Barcl. Quak. Confut. sec. 4.
† Penn, vol. ii. 298, 544, 896, &c. &c.
‡ And no Friend can be displeased with the tracing of their tenets to

I. The Platonic system recognised the one supreme God; and it is probable that their inferior deities held the same rank and place in their system as the angels in their different orders hold in the system of divine truth. The accusation has been brought against Plato that his doctrine stript the Deity of some of his divine attributes. This charge, however, has not been made out. The sentiment of Plato respecting the invincible malignity of matter, which, according to him, the Supreme Deity could not conquer, did certainly derogate from the glory of his omnipotence: but he certainly did not remove that perfection from his idea of the divine nature; and did we even admit the full extent of this error, we should find that Plato's injury to that natural perfection of Deity is not to be placed on a level with that outrage which the leaders of the Society have offered to one of the moral perfections. Their sentiments on the atonement derogate from the glory of his justice. They deny that the claims of justice against the sinner, are so righteous that they never can, without a full satisfaction, be set aside. They do deny vindictive justice. They reduce its terrific nature to the level of human equity. They shut their eyes against the breadth and length, the depth and height of that guilt that aims its malignant force against infinite holiness and purity. They keep out of view those infinite obligations which man has violated; and by the violation of which he has contracted guilt of infinite malignity: and with a maudlin sentimentalism they aver, that if man can, without criminality, pardon an offence without a satisfaction, so may Divine Justice pardon; and so has Divine Justice pardoned human guilt without a satisfaction!*

With these exceptions the sentiments of the Society harmonize with those of Plato on this article. The unity of their sentiments is more striking on that of the *triad.* Plato held that there were three principles, or hypostases. The Father is the first; he is the one,† or God himself, strictly speaking. The second is the Logos, or Word, who made the world. The third is

this source, after the encomium passed on the Mystics by the Society in A. D. 1811. See the Vindication of the Quakers, Mosh. vol. iv. p. 293, edit. of 1821.

* Whitehead's Div. of Christ, p. 62, 63. Penn, ii. 13, 529, &c.

† Το ἕΝ.

the Spirit, or Soul of the World. The first is the father of the second; and the second produced the third.* The Word and Spirit were considered by them as inferior to the Father. He never understood, he never taught the unity of essence in three persons. It is a melancholy fact that the same idea was adopted and persisted in by Penn. If there be any difference, the Society embrace this doctrine of Plato, as modified by Sabellius, or by Socinus.†

II. The ancient maxim of the philosophers, "*De nihilo nihil*," --*Nothing can come from nothing*;---was never controverted by them: it was with them an axiom: it needed no proof. Even Plato had not a scruple on the subject. Human souls, were, therefore, not made out of nothing. Plato, in his Timæus, represents the great first cause in conjunction with the inferior deities, forming the inhabitants of the spheres. The immortal soul, which they called the *divine seed*,‡ the seat of knowledge and wisdom, was an emanation of God, and was as pure as his own essence.§ He gave it in charge to the inferior gods to give man a spirit, or mortal soul; the seat of the passions and the desires. Heraclitus held that the Deity was a methodical fire, pervading the universe: and that souls of men were parts taken out of the universe;‖ and in whatever manner expressed, this was one of the grand tenets of Platonism; that the divine essence or nature was diffused through every soul, so as to make them constituent parts of itself.¶

Plato taught that the Great One created all human souls at once. He put them into light and subtile bodies. Besides this they have also luciform and etherial bodies.** These souls were placed, at first, in the spheres that roll in space. In that state of pre-existence each soul chose its guardian demon, who was to be in future its companion and guide.‡‡ These souls while ex-

* Plat. Opera. 1011, 1012, and his 5 and 6 Lett. ad Dionys. ad Hermiam. Cudw. Intel. Syst. book i. chap. 4. and Grot. De Veritate Lib. 4. sec. 12.

† Penn's Sandy Found. and vol. ii. ad initium.

‡ Virg. Æn. vi. ver. 731.

§ Plat. Tim. and Ogilvy's Theol. Plat. p. 105.

‖ Cudw. Intel. Syst. i. 51. 4to. mihi.

¶ "Animas que nostras partem esse cœli." Plin. Lib ii. cap. 26.

** Proclus in Timæum and Plato in his Epinomis. Cudw. Int. Syst. p. 788. Virg. Æn. vi. v. 702.

‡‡ Plato in Timæo. & Phæd. and Virg. Æn. vi. ver. 730.

isting in their airy vehicle were actuated by opposing desires; and when the Supreme One conducts the inferior gods to the highest celestial elevation, he is followed, with ease, by beings like himself. Not so with others. By means of conflicting desires, their wings, while mounting to the source of felicity, became impaired and broken. They fall from their superior regions and enter into gross bodies on the earth.† This is the *Platonic fall* of man.

Into these bodies the souls enter with their luciform bodies, or vehicles. This light is shut up in these dark terrestrial bodies like a light in a dark lantern.‡ This internal light was called by some of them a spirit:‖ Seneca makes it a sacred spirit. "Sacer inter nos sedet spiritus." Lucan confers divine honours upon it. "Est deus in nobis."§ And Ovid shuts up this god in the human breast.¶ Hence the demon of Socrates, which directed his mind in the search of truth; which prescribed the measures that he pursued; which dictated what he ought to say; or sealed his lips in dutiful silence; which lifted the curtain of futurity and blessed its votary with visions and predictions.** And, hence, the attendant god of Plotinus, to whom "the divine eye of his soul was continually elevated."††

In its present debased state the soul is urged on to re-ascend to its original. The "*deity within*" utters soft voices; but these cannot be heard until a dream, or a rapture, or the slumbers of silence and the retirement of the soul into itself shall still the clamours of reason and of sense. Nothing is more hostile to this divine enthusiasm than mortal wisdom and bodily desires.‡‡ To detach the soul from these was the grand art taught by this philosophy. Hence Socrates and Plato prescribed rules for purging the rational soul, and clarifying the luciform vehicle in which

† Plat. Oper. 1223, and Ogil. Theol. Plat. p. 160, 161.

‡ Suidas, Isidore, Hierocles used this language. Cudw. Intel. Syst. 4to. p. 790. The ancient Quakers were, by the wags of that age, called "dark lantern men." The "*light within*" was the beginning, the middle, and the end of their extemporaneous effusions.

‖ Pletho in Oracul, Chald. Cud. In. Sys. i. 791, 4to.

§ Phars. lib. 9. v. 568.

¶ Metaph. ii. Fab. 10. Et de arte Amandi, lib. iii. ver. 549.

** Xenoph. Memor. Socrat. & Pluta. de genio Socr. and W. Penn, ii. 583.

†† Taylor's Plat. Philos. ii. p. 238.

‡‡ Plutar. De Defect. Orac.—Spencer on Vulg. Prophecies, p. 32.—

the soul was enveloped.* For, being attenuated to a certain degree, it becomes "light and wingy;" it mounts aloft as the thin gas to the summit of perfection. Hence their cathartic virtues—hence their corporal afflictions. By these means they chained down the carnal mind, that the light within might spring up. Hence this mode of address: "Let us hasten to the light whence the soul came: look within: the fountain of good is within: you will be wise if you behold yourselves in the Deity; in that light which alone is capable of teaching you. If you look into that which is without, you will only do the works of darkness.† And this specimen of a Platonic address will show with what scrupulous fidelity the disciples adhere to their masters: "O Friends! turn in, turn in: where is the poison, there is the cure: there you want Christ, and there you must find him."‡

The soul, being purified, according to the Platonists, is elevated to a union with the Supreme God. They are surrounded by divine splendours: rays of celestial light are extended to their eyes: they speak, they write, from the inspirations of Deity.§ At death the body is dissolved for ever—and the soul, bursting from that vile prison, returns, in its luciform body, to God, out of whom it came, and is absorbed into him.‖ The resurrection of the body was a subject of derision to these sophists. "To be again placed in the same body," said Plotinus, "would be no better than a second sleep." And Celaus reproached this doctrine, the hope of all good men, as "σκωληκων ἐλπις"—"the hope of worms."¶

§ 3. These doctrines have been handed down from a remote antiquity. Plato has not the honour of discovering them: he was not even the first whose genius illustrated them: he was in-

Jamblicus De Myst. Egypt. sec. 3. cap. 7. Lampe Theol. Dissert. De Theopneust, sec. 37.

* Bar. Apology, orig. Lat. edit. On the light, called it "Vehiculum Dei." Engl. copy, p. 152. ed. Phil.—Compared with Taylor's Plat. Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 236, 4to. Lond. ed.

† Sybil. Orac. ii. 79. Ogil. Theol. Plat. 188. and Plat. Dial. of Soc. and Alcib.

‡ Penn in his pref. to Fox's Jour. p. 57. mihi.—Comp. Bar. Apol. and prop. 586. sec. 13.

§ Taylor's works of Plat. ii. 237, and 238, 4to. A. D. 1792.

‖ Taylor's works of Plat. ii. p. 268.

¶ Orig. contra Cels. lib. v. 240.

debted for them to the philosophy of Egypt, and especially to the school of Pythagoras. This philosopher was a native of Sidon: it was in his native city that Pythagoras met with some of the disciples of Moschus, or Mochus, who is supposed, by some of the learned, to have been the Moses of the Jews:* who, at any rate, was a Phenician; and had, undoubtedly, borrowed from the Mosaic writings, or the traditions of the Jews. Moschus taught that, besides matter, there are immortal souls, and a deity distinct from the corporal world.† This fair system suffered grievously from the hands into which it fell: the atheistic school of Democritus and Epicurus formed their system from his doctrine of the corporal world, and denied the existence of God and of spirits. Pythagoras, and especially Plato and Aristotle, filled with prejudices against this philosophism, went into an opposite extreme. They rejected his opinions on the corporal world, and confined their system to the spiritual part. Giving loose reins to their glowing imaginations, they formed a sublime theology, in which the character of their deity, and the pre-existence and immortality of souls form the only conspicuous part. But matter is *invincibly malignant:* the body is a vile prison: the only object to be kept in view with it is to get quit of it, as the prisoner longs and labours after emancipation from bondage. Plato was the most laborious and successful of the Socratic school in propagating these doctrines. He died in the year before Christ three hundred and forty-eight.‡

B. C. 270, *to B. C.* 246.—The philosophy of Plato was widely spread through Asia by the patronage of the kings of Egypt and of Syria. Ptolemy, surnamed Lagus, caused a library to be erected at Alexandria, and he collected into it every book which he could procure. His son continued his patronage, and enlarged its stores.‖ The Syrian monarchy also formed an extensive library.§ The writings of Plato were too valuable, and too well known not to occupy a conspicuous place in them. The schools of Egypt and of Syria became the resort of men of

* Cudw Intel. Syst. chap. i. sec. 10.
† Cudworth, book i. ch. i. sec. 41. p. 50.
‡ Lemp. Class. Dict.
‖ Justin. 17. c. 2, &c. Lemp. Classical Dict.
§ Le Clerc's Life of Euseb. p. 69.

learning and taste. From thence the sentiments of Plato were spread widely abroad. Thus, two hundred years before Christ, Asia was filled with the disciples of Plato.*

The Platonic philosophy underwent various transformations before it reached the humble pages of the founder of the society. Fathers and bishops, and heretics, united their efforts to christianize the sentiments of Plato. The result, as will appear in our progress, was, that instead of bringing the sophism of that sage into a christian form, they were invariably drawn off from the pure fountain of truth, to the polluted streams of Egypt and Greece.

Splendid as the language of Plato is, (and its beauties have charmed every scholar,) it must be admitted that his ideas are extremely obscure; and many of them altogether unintelligible.† The proofs of this appear strikingly, even on the pages of Taylor, who has given us, perhaps, the purest system of Platonism, and certainly the least obscure, from the hand of a disciple.‡ But the commentators on that philosophy brought with them much knowledge from the Jewish and Christian doctors. They have illumined his pages, and brought his opinions to a systematic form. Toward the close of the second century, the sect of the Eclectics appeared. They adopted in general the doctrines of Plato, respecting the Deity, and the human soul: but they added to his opinions the rich gleanings from other systems. This sect arose in Alexandria, at that time the seat of the sciences. It spread rapidly through the Roman empire; bearing down before it all other sects. Even christian fathers embraced its opinions. At the head of these was Clemens Alexandrinus. This christian father was in the habit of teaching his pupils a system of Platonic philosophy, before he led them to the knowledge of the holy scriptures!§

Near the close of the second century flourished Ammonius

* Le Clerc's Life of Euseb. p. 69.

† Longinus speaking of him and his commentator Plotinus, says: "The greatest part of the matters of which they treat, is incomprehensible." Madame Dacier's Plato, vol. i. p. 162, Lond. Edit. 1720.

‡ See his works of Plato, 2d vol. quarto, London, A. D. 1792. "Heu prisca jacet pietas," was the motto of Taylor as he gave up the Lord Jesus Christ for Plato. p. 32.

§ Le Clerc's life of Clem. Al.

Saccas.* He affected a change in the Platonic system: which produced the most extensive and serious consequences. He held, that the great principles of religious truth, were to be found equally in the opinions of all sects; that they differed only in the manner of expressing themselves; that all religions, both Gentile and Christian, are to be explained by the principles of the universal philosophy; that this philosophy was taught by Hermes in Egypt; that it was preserved in the purest manner by Plato; that, therefore, all religions, in order to their being restored to their original purity, must be reduced to this standard, which was called the philosophy of the East; that in the accomplishment of this reformation, the historical fables of the heathen gods must be turned into allegory; and modelled after Plato; and that, by the same process, the mysteries of the holy scriptures are to be reconciled to the theology of Plato.

The rules of his moral discipline, were conformed to these tenets. They embraced all the catholic virtues and forms prescribed by the Platonic doctors, for purifying the soul, and separating it, as much as possible, from the trammels of the bodily sensations, that it might be elevated to its original source. Saccas had been educated in the faith of the gospel.†

In expounding his novel doctrines, his manner was pleasing and insinuating. He made a free use of the language of the holy scriptures, and his followers profiting by his example, seemed to clothe Plato entirely in the garb of a christian, and outstripped even the fathers of the church in the profusion of scripture questions. This suited the taste of the age. Plato was not sacrificed; and the badge of christianity was at least put on. Saccas met the prejudices of his audiences, as the Jesuits did those of the Chinese. He met them more than half way in their superstition. He did not ask them to change their idols. He asked them only to adopt a new nomenclature. He brings forward a creature of his brain. The body is weak. The name and language resembles that of Christ. The multitude shouted their applause. Their opinions were eagerly embraced. The sect spreads its doctrines with rapidity into all quarters.

* Mosh. i. cent. ii. p. 2. ch. 1. Or according to others, A. D. 232. Lempr. Bigr. Dict.

† Milner's ch. hist. vol. i. ch. 9, cent. 2, Mosh. cent. ii. part 2, ch. 1.

§ 4. This philosophy gave birth to two extraordinary sects in the bosom of the church. The mode of explaining by allegory, was adopted by Clemens Alexandrinus, and by the celebrated Origen. The last was passionately devoted to this philosophy. These fathers took for the model of their expositions, the rhapsodies of the Eastern philosophers, who made godly comments on the wretched fables and absurdities of their ghostly histories. Taught by these sophists, they supposed that the inspired writers had concealed their true meaning under different forms of speech. The plainest doctrines, and even historical details were found out to be nothing more than allegories, containing in their bowels wonderful mysteries. They set themselves with much solemnity, to penetrate those figures; and they brought to view, doctrines which no mortal had before pretended to discover there; and which certainly no inspired writer ever meant to convey by these statements. To pave the way for this knight-errantry in divinity, Origen laid down this dangerous maxim, which he never would have adopted, had he been able, by a fair and natural course, to find his favourite Plato within the precincts of the bible: "Many evils lie in adhering to the external letter, or carnal part of the scriptures. Let us seek after the spirit of the word, which is hidden and mysterious." "The scriptures are of little use to those who understand them as they are written."* It is from this we trace the origin of that scholastic theology which caused so much distraction in the church in after ages.

The other sect was more notorious: it was that of the mystics. They perfected the works begun by their master. By the help of scripture phrases and a new nomenclature, Plato was christianized. His conducting demon was ingeniously metamorphosed; he became in their lips the spirit; from the confusion in his pages respecting the luciform body or vehicle of the soul, and the demon, arose their confounding of the *word* and the *spirit*. These in process of time, among the peculiarities of certain heresies, became one and the same. The "*dry splendour*" of Porphyry† became, in their system, a divine illumination by the rising up of the light within; this re-union of the soul to God

* Orig. Strom. lib. 10. Mosh. i. cent. 3. p. 2. ch. 3.
† Taylor's Platonic Theol. ii. p. 271.

in the fund of the soul, so as to partake of the essence of God, became in their hands the union to Christ within, whence they obtain emancipation from sin, and the lofty honours of perfection.* His struggles of the soul in its descent to its original, in obedience to the whispers of the god within it, became, with these christians, the sufferings of Christ in *their* flesh. Sometimes his demon sunk beneath unruly passions or the force of sin; this became, with them, the crucifying of Christ in them, and a falling finally away from grace.† He made the body to be only a prison of the soul. Death sets us free, never again to be enthralled by a union to it; hence they drew the inference that there is not a resurrection of *the same body* which is laid in the grave.

They adopted also his austere discipline. Acting on the Platonic maxim, that the soul is an emanation from God and is "*of his essence;*" and that it "*comprehends in itself the elements of all truth, human and divine;*" they rejected all the aid of learning and study, and indeed of every external means, to excite the hidden flame in the soul. Nothing, they taught, but solitude and the stillness of repose, can effect this; the body must be mortified; reason and wisdom must be checked: hence the origin of monks and hermits. In a short time the deserts and the dens of wild beasts were peopled with these fanatics. The eastern climate greatly conduced to this; their glowing atmosphere creates the inactive and melancholy habits which distinguish the languid minds of the East.‡

Ammonius Saccas committed nothing to writing; but in the fourth century, his mystic doctrine was reduced to a more regular system. This was effected by that fanatic who assumed the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. His writings being spread among the Greeks and Syrians, produced an incredible number of disciples: these espoused the cause of mysticism with a degree of enthusiasm bordering on madness.§ In this century, this sect passed into Italy, and the islands bordering on it, and from thence into Gaul, and the rest of Europe.

* Bar. Thes. on perfection.
† See Bar. Thes on falling from grace.
‡ Mosh. cent. ii. p. 2. c. 1. cent. iii. p. 2. c. 3.
§ Mosh. vol. i. cent. 4. p. 2. c. 3.

But the oriental mystics differed widely from those of the West. In mortifying the body, and in disengaging the soul from its influence, and in exciting the internal light, the former imitated the manners of the idiot, and sometimes those of the maniac. They withdrew into solitudes, whence occasionally they would make sallies in a state of perfect nudity, and run with ferocious looks, till nature was exhausted. Some of them retired into caves, where they remained motionless, and in awful silence, or edified themselves by lacerating their miserable bodies. Some sat for hours in a bending position, with their eyes fixed on some particular object; some threw themselves down and remained in certain postures until they fell into a trance; some squinting their eyes inward, fixed an earnest look on the tops of their noses; others, (and hence the *Umbilicani* of famous memory,) kept their eyes eagerly and immoveably fixed on the middle region of their belly, or the navel, until the pure light beamed forth from their souls, and the still voice of their *divine teacher within* was distinctly heard.* The mystics of the west did not go all these lengths: they owed it not to principle, but to the effects of a rigid climate, and their national habits, that they were less frantic, and more indulgent to their health and comfort.†

There were three different classes of these fanatics. The Cenobites lived in one community, under one chief, who was in later times called Abbot. The hermits lived in cottages or caves, remote from the haunts of men or social comfort. The anchorites frequented the wildest deserts without the shelter of a cave or a cottage; and whenever night found them, they threw themselves down and slept on the ground. This last class often wandered into cities, and mingling with society they called on all to repent, and pretended to confirm their claims to a divine mission by their miracles. They had no regular means of support, but were supported by the hands of charity.‡

In the fifth century, this sect received a fresh impulse in the west by the translation of Plato into Latin. Greek was little

* Mosh. cent. 4. part 2. ch. 3. sec. 14.

† Mosh. cent. 14. part 2. c. 5.

‡ Mosh. do. sec. 15 & Niceph. Eccles. Hist. Tom. i. cap. 15. 16. p. 707. Milner ch. hist. vol. ii. cent. 4. chap. v. Spanhem, Sac. et Eccl. Hist. p. 934. fol.

known in the west: even to the men of letters, Plato was a sealed book. This translation put it into every body's hands; hence it happened, said an ancient writer, that all those Latins who had any inclination to study the truth, fell into the notions of Plato.*

In the sixth century, two events fell out, which procured fresh accessions to its numbers. The one was the more extensive circulation of the writings of the fictitious Dionysius, explained and enforced by the annotations of John of Scythopolis.† The other was the overthrow of the Platonic schools under the care of the pagan philosophers. From the age of Ammonius Saccas, these schools had been in a flourishing state. In the fourth century they produced some distinguished men, who, in their turn, raised still higher, the forms of these schools. Of these pupils, Plotinus was the most eminent; he taught the Platonic system in Persia, and in the west as far as Rome. His successors were Amelius, Porphyry, and Jamblicus; and in the fifth century, Syrianus and Proclus flourished. Seven philosophers of smaller name succeeded Proclus; but the glory of these once famous schools of Athens and Alexandria, was hastening to depart. The fame of the *Platonic christian doctors* gradually drew off their pupils, and the edict of Justinian completed their ruin in the beginning of the sixth century.‡ From this time the Platonic philosophers began to take shelter under the christian name. They carried with them into the bosom of the church, a vast accession of strength to the mystics. These flourished chiefly in the east. But the ninth century was a new era to them in the western empire.

Michael Balbus, the emperor of the Greeks, presented a copy of the works of Dionysius to Louis the Meek, emperor of the west; by his orders it was carefully translated into Latin.§ Another and a more elegant translation was executed by John Scot Erigena, under the patronage of the emperor Charles the Bald. That learned Irishman was not content with translating the pages of the pretended Dionysius; he incorporated the mys-

* Sidon. Appolinarius Epist. Lib. 9. Ep. 9. &c. Mosh. ii. cent. v. p. 2. ch. 1. sec. 3.

† Mosh. ii. cent. vi. p. 2. c. 3. sec. 6.

‡ Mosh. ii. cent. vi. part 2. ch. 1. sec. 4.

§ Ab. Hilduini Areopagetica p. 66. Edit. of 1563.

tic doctrine into his system of philosophy. By means of his writings, which were much read, and under the extensive patronage of the emperors, the sect of the mystics carried its triumphs into Germany, and France and Italy.*

The eleventh and twelfth centuries, present a melancholy picture of the condition of the church, and of the state of learning. Gloomy superstition dozed on her throne, and shed her baleful influence on the minds of men. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the mystics produced several writers; these gave forth expositions of the scriptures: in all their sentiments they were guided by their gloomy philosophy, and they forced the pure doctrines of the gospel into an odious conformity with their visionary scheme.

§ 5. While mysticism and superstition were struggling for the superiority in the dark ages of catholic Europe, a fresh torrent of the eastern philosophy was poured in through Italy. Various causes combined to produce this. From the beginning of the eleventh century, the thirst for knowledge had been encreasing; the progress made in the succeeding centuries, little though it was, seemed to add a fresh stimulus to the human mind to throw off the yoke of darkness. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the works of the ancients were sought after with extraordinary avidity. "The discovery of an ancient manuscript was regarded as almost equal to the conquest of a kingdom." Among the men of letters, who distinguished themselves in the collection of manuscripts, we find the names of Poggio and Arispa. The last having travelled into the East, returned in A. D. 1423, with 238 manuscripts; among these were all the works of Plato, Plotinus and Proclus.† In A. D. 1438, a general council was held at Ferrara, by the order of Pope Eugenius IV, to settle the points in dispute between the Roman church and the Greek church. In the retinue of the emperor of the East, who attended the council, was Pletho, one of the most distinguished scholars of the age; and one who was passionately devoted to the Platonic philosophy.‡ During his residence at Ferrara, and afterwards at

* Mosh. ii. cent. 9. p. 2. ch. 3. sec. 12.

† Roscoe's Lor De Med. vol. i. p. 33, &c.

‡ Fabricii Bibl. Græc. tom. X. p. 739, 756. Gibbon's Rome, vol. viii. ch. 66.

Florence, whither the council had been removed, he was assiduous in propagating his sentiments. Among the men of learning and influence, he allured from Aristotle to the faith of Plato, was Cosmo De Medici. This zealous convert founded the Platonic Academy at Florence. He selected Ficino, one of his domestics, and had him trained up with the utmost care, in the new system, that he might be the ornament of the new academy and the champion of Plato. Under the patronage of the family of the Medici, and by the enthusiastic labours of Ficino, the system gained a complete triumph over Aristotle. At the feast ordained in honour of Plato, it was the custom to read or recite out of that philosopher; and all in the assembly were invited to make comments on the passages. Besides the more early translations of Plato by Aretino, those of Ficino appeared first at Florence, without date, and afterwards at Venice in A. D. 1491. His version of Plotinus was published in 1492. He translated the elements of theology by Proclus, and wrote tracts "De opinionibus *circa Deum et animam.*" "De divino furore;" "De lumine."* This laborious Platonist gave us a practical proof of the natural tendency of his principles; he became a warm disciple and advocate of mysticism.†

This academy flourished under Lorenzo the son of Cosmo, and under Pope Leo X. the son of Lorenzo, a most eminent patron of Plato, and of learned men. From Italy, as a centre, the Platonic doctrines were diffused through Europe by the zeal of the different orders of monks and priests. Among these missionaries of Plato, was Nefo of Padua, who distinguished himself in the cause by his treatise "De intellectu et Demonibus." He held the unity of spiritual existence, and taught that one soul animated all nature.‡ Among the pupils who frequented the Platonic Academy, we find some from England; the most distinguished were Grocin, who afterwards filled a Greek chair in Oxford, and Linacer, who bears the honour of being the founder of the college of physicians of London, and its first president.

* Roscoe's Life of Lor. De Medici, i. p. 33, 33, 50, 77, 224, 226, iii. 293, &c.

† Mosh. iii. cent. 15. part 2. c. 3. sec. 11.

‡ Roscoe's Life of Leo X. vol. IV. 123. 131.

§ 6. While this philosophy maintained its march for ages, it attached to its standard, men of letters and theologians of every rank. The former, not having devoted much attention to the christian theology, were satisfied merely with speculations on Plato. It was the latter class that became the bold and dangerous innovators. They were better instructed in the Platonism of Saccas than in the pure doctrines of Christ. They borrowed the name of our Lord: they were the zealous and enthusiastic disciples of Saccas: they carried into effect what their master had begun: they drew out his principles to their full extent, and lowered the holy truth and institutions of Christ to that impious standard. They soon discovered that their favourite sentiments superseded the doctrines which the church had regarded as fundamental. The rules for the contemplative life, and the cathartic virtues for clarifying the soul, superseded the external ordinances of the church. Their sacrilegious hands spared not even the most solemn ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

In different ages individuals arose, who had the resolution to avow their opinions, and though evidently guided by different motives, and combining in their motley system conflicting sentiments, and pursuing forms of argument the most contradictory; they always contrived to arrive at the same height of folly and mysticism.

In the early ages some of them appeared in the Syrian and Greek churches. The most conspicuous of these were the Novatians, or Cathari. They placed religion in internal prayer: and they rejected external forms, and both sacraments. In the days of Tertullian a female preacher declaimed at Carthage against the sacraments.* In the second century the followers of Montanus yielded themselves up to the demon within, which they honoured with the title of inspiration; and they substituted something like the Platonic triad for the christian doctrine of the Trinity. The Pepurians, among other extravagances, elected their bishops, under aid of *divine impulses*, from among their female orators.† The Paulicians, who appeared in the East in the ninth century, formed a numerous class of the Mystic Theolo-

* Tertul. lib. de Bapt. and Wall in his Hist. of Baptism.
† Broughton's Dict. of all Relig. ii. 551.

gians. They passed out of Asia Minor into Thrace: from Greece they passed into Sicily and Venice; and by the pilgrims of Hungary, in their return from Jerusalem, they were ushered into Germany:* and at the close of this century a band of them, headed by Gerard and Dulcimus, disseminated their opinions in England.† They rejected the external means of grace, and particularly the holy sacraments.‡ The followers of Lucopetros, in the twelfth century, were their associates in violence against the holy institutions of Christ. In this century appeared the fanatic Tanquelmus. If ever there was a transmigration of souls, his soul must have passed, in the seventeenth century, into Fox, or into the notorious Naylor: for, like the latter, and from the same gross conceptions respecting the demon, the light, or the Christ *within*, he fancied himself to be the very Son of God; and rejected, with scorn, the ordinances of the church of Christ. In the thirteenth century Amauri published his reveries. He embraced the fanatical views of Christ in us. He taught, that as there are three in the Godhead, there were to be three grand epochs in the government of the world: the first was the empire of the Father---that expired with the Jewish law. The second was the empire of the Son---that ceased with the gospel, about the year 1260. Then commenced the empire of the Spirit---and under this the abolition of the sacraments, and of all external means of worship took place.§

The repose of ignorance was disturbed also by the brethren and sisters of the True Spirit. Their leading tenet was this; there is something in every man that is neither created nor susceptible of creation. This is the logos, or reason, or word. They advocated perfection, and every *perfect man was a Christ.* Having this lofty privilege, they felt no need of sacraments, or of any external means of worship. They were also distinguished by "their singular and fantastic apparel."‖

The sect of Whippers excited violent tumults in this century.

* Gibbon's Rome, vii. chap. 54.
† Wall's Hist. Bap. by Fuller, p. 120, &c.
‡ Mosh. ii. c. ix. p. 2. chap. 5. and cent. xi. p. 2. c. 5. sec. 4.
§ Mosh iii. cent. xiii. p. 2. ch. 1. sec. 7. Lemp. Biog. Dict. art. Amauri. The Jonchimites held the same.
‖ Mosh. iii. cent. xiii. part 2. ch. 2. sec. 9, 10, 11.

They had adopted the Platonic rules for purifying the soul by mortifying the body, and carried them into a most rigorous execution. They put on sackcloth: they assumed melancholy looks: they laid aside all music and musical instruments: they avoided pleasures, and even innocent amusements, as hostile to piety: they held that bodily mortifications possessed equal merit and efficacy as baptism, or any other christian rite: and they subjected their bodies to severe macerations. This sect spread its fury over Germany, France, and Italy. It found its way into kings palaces. The king of France marched in one of their processions, half naked, and armed with his whip; and the cardinal of Lorraine, pious soul! gave up the ghost, in consequence of cold caught in his undress, while under the whip.* History traces them down as far as the year 1601.†

In the fourteenth century Taulerus was himself a host in extending the power of mysticism. The following is the sum of his doctrine. In every man there are three men: the outward, which must be mortified; the inward, or the soul, which "becomes divine, and is wholly like God;" and there is the fund of the soul, or the most inward spirit. In this fund God has *founded* himself. He lies there hid. It is there that he begets his only begotten Son; this Son is the light within. When one is moved to introvert he must lay aside his outward powers; he must lay aside singing and reading, and other good works; he must sink down into the fund, and follow the divine *drawings* with all his heart. He will soon feel the power of God, the Father; his spirit will be so reformed by God's spirit, that he will take the right and pure way. God pours himself forth into his spirits, and he is filled with light as the air with the beams of the sun. There is such a union formed in him that he cannot discern between the created and the uncreated spirit; his soul is made perfect; it is swallowed up in the essence of God; it loses itself, and swims in him as in an abyss.‡

His sermons contain perhaps the most complete system extant of the Platonism of Saccas. They were preached at Cologne in A. D. 1346, and poured forth a deluge of fanaticism among the

* Boileau's Hist. of Flagellantes, chap. 23.

† De Thou's Hist. of his own times.

‡ Tauler's Sermons, passim, and Browne's "Quakerism," p. 431, &c. 4to. edit. A. D. 1678.

common people. They were published in Dutch, at Antwerp, in A. D. 1647; and Cressy, a Catholic priest of England, embodied their sentiments into his "Sancta Sophia," and published a translation of them in England, in A. D. 1657.*

Paracelsus, the fine philosopher in the fifteenth century, and Postello,† in the sixteenth, laboured in the same cause. To this list we may add the names of Wigelius, and D. George, and the family of Love; but the most active at this period was Behmen, of Gorlitz. This fanatic commenced his career in 1600. Like Fox, he was a cordwainer, and possessed a mind gloomy and illiterate. He claimed the honours of inspiration. He was "first entranced," (I use his own account of it,) "by the light of God; and the *astral* spirit of his soul by the sudden glance of his eye on a bright pewter plate." This flash entered the fund of his soul, and roused up the light within to such a degree, that "he could look into the heart, and the intimate nature of all creatures."‡ Being thus constituted a prophet, by the help "of a pewter plate," he laboured, after the manner of Taulerus, to bring the degenerate world back to the paths of mysticism.

Taulerus and Behmen are not a little indebted to their English disciples. These have scattered some rays of light over a system enveloped in Egyptian darkness. To Cressy, and to Sir Harry Vane, and, long after them, to William Law, the modern mystics owe their sincere gratitude. These, with others of inferior name, certainly reduced the system to something of a tangible form, and put it into extensive circulation in England. On the continent of Europe they had also distinguished advocates. They had Kotter and Hiel; and, in Germany, Labadie. The latter stood high among his visionary compatriots. After many years faithful services, the Society of Friends in England did, by their deputies, Barclay and Penn, offer him the right hand of fellowship. And in this list of their authors we should deserve blame if we omitted the name of Molinos. He was a Spanish priest. By his book, the "Spiritu Alguide,"§ he did much to sub-

* Stillingfleet's Idol. and Superst. of the Roman Church, 2d edit. p. 285, &c.

† Post. Absenditosum. Sec. No. 642, dued. Phil. Library.

‡ Memoirs of Behmen, translated by Okely, p. 8, &c.

§ Published in Spanish and other languages. Lempr. Biog. Dict.

serve the cause of Quietism, before the cruel talons of the Inquisition had pounced upon him with their deadly violence.

§ 7. The writings of these mystics had been widely spread in England in the commencement of the seventeenth century. They had been industriously circulated in small tracts and pamphlets: they had been made accessible to the poorest cottager: they had sown the seed of mysticism in the hearts of great multitudes, and it was preparing to shoot up in every irregular form, under the first favourable opportunity.

The Protestant church rendered every facility to this; and the question has been invidiously put--"Whence came it that she has originated this fanaticism?"

It is very evident that these sects, mentioned above, did exist in their most obnoxious forms within the pale of the Romish church.* But it is frankly admitted that they appeared neither so numerous, nor so daring, as at the Reformation, and among the the Protestant churches. The fact is this: they lost all their credit with the Romish church at that trying period; they had not the ability nor the disposition to defend that church in her pompous external rites; they were driven out of her pale. They turned their eyes on that liberty, and perfect freedom of sentiment that was permitted in the Protestant church. They saw that sentiments and practices which would have brought them under the *maternal care* of the Catholic church, to the stake, were, in general, tolerated, or at least attacked only by the argument of the learned, which brought no bodily pains. They, therefore, eagerly pressed into the liberty of the Protestant church; and being intoxicated by their prophetic fury, and the spirit of their newly acquired liberty, they were prepared to rush into every extravagance; and in proportion as a nation and a church become agitated by civil and religious broils, the fury of fanaticism rages long and fiercely; for in these gloomy periods the human mind becomes more easily a prey to superstition. In such times, also, it frequently happens that the ministry, the guardians of truth and good order, have their attention distracted by other objects, or are wholly thrown off their guard; or they have been actu-

*Stillingfleet's Idol. and Superst. of the Church of Rome, ut supra.

ally hurried into prisons or into exile. Then the wolves enter in and devour the unguarded flock.

All these causes were in full operation in the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Society of Friends arose. The infatuation and cruelty of James I. and the *fanatical* *tyranny of Charles I. had spread a wide desolation in the church. The minds of the people had, in the meantime, received a powerful impulse, from the haughty encroachments made on their liberties. Bold and daring, and fond of liberty, the English rose indignant against the folly and wickedness of their princes. Their vengeance fell on the head of Charles I, who died, literally, a "royal martyr:" but a martyr in the holy cause of the absolute supremacy of kings by *divine right;* and in the more holy cause of *the divine right* of a bloody and persecuting hierarchy.† The interregnum of Cromwell succeeded. There lived in that age some of England's greatest divines and civilians; but all the influence of these persons, their sensible and rational piety, their love of good order, their zeal for the purity of truth, and the best interests of the church and kingdom, could not stem, nor even turn out of its course, that torrent of religious phrenzy which desolated England. Episcopalians, and Independents, and Presbyterians rose, and triumphed, and fell in succession. The mighty combat too frequently raged about outward forms and customs, and *priests' dresses!* They persecuted, and they were persecuted in their turn! Whilst these three great bodies, united and led on by the best men in the land, were struggling for existence and liberty, the church beheld, arising before her astonished eyes, a new sect, and unheard of before in England.

The dreadful blow given to the faithful ministry, in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, by crushing their influence, prepared the way for this sect. Such was the degree of oppression by the high court of commissions, under Elizabeth, that no honest man could safely come forward into the sacred office. Hence the deplorable state of the ministry in that period. Of one hundred and forty ministers in Cornwall, not one could *preach a sermon.* Many of them were non-residenters: many of

* He believed and acted on the principle of the *divine right of kings!*
† See Hume's account of his trial, vol. v. and Neal Hist. part iii. ch. 3.

them were immoral: some of them *branded felons:* and some Papists in disguise.* Faithful ministers were not permitted to preach, nor even to teach, without submitting to terms at which their consciences revolted. Hence it was no uncommon thing to see learned and pious ministers actually reduced to beg their daily bread.† By the tyranny of the court, seconded by that of the archbishop, many thousand parishes were deprived of their pastors, and the people were left a prey to ignorance and fanaticism. The court clergy were in the habit of declaring baptism to be regeneration. Midwives were formally *licensed* by bishops to baptize infants. This had a tendency to bring this holy institution into contempt with many.

The creatures of Elizabeth, who filled the highest places in the church, to roll off themselves the public odium, had transferred the prosecution of the non-conforming clergy to the civil courts. Hence ministers in the church were tried at the common assizes;‡ and being thus compelled to mingle at the bar with rogues and felons, neither venerable years, nor learning, nor piety, could protect them from insults. Though called to answer merely to the charge of not conforming to certain customs and dresses, not even pretended to be essential, nor even necessary to th religion of Christ, the vulgar, who judge often from appearances, heaped on these venerable men reproaches and insults, which ought to be spared even against the vilest criminals. This gave a deep wound to the character of the ministry.

Another cause of their depression is to be sought for in the circumstances attending the progress of the tenets of Brownism. So early as the close of the reign of queen Elizabeth, that sect could count twenty thousand adherents scattered over the kingdom. They were in the habit of declaiming against the Episcopal church as not a true church; against her ministry as not a Christian ministry; against her form of administering the holy sacraments as unscriptural.‖ Without intending it, or at least without anticipating all the consequences, their loose declamation led the people, insensibly, to despise the church, the ministry, and the holy sacraments.

* See the Remonstrance of the Lords of the Council. Neal i. ch. 6.
† See the case of the learned Mr. Paget. Neal i. ch. 7.
‡ Neal i. ch. 8. ‖ Neal ii. ch. i.

The peculiar tenets of this sect operated another way: it was their sentiment that every "gifted brother" should be at liberty to speak freely in the church. The Society seemed to leave the proof of their gifts to every one who laid claims to them; and as the mass of mankind are not unwilling to admit their gifts, the world was soon filled and overwhelmed with exhorters. In market places, and in churches after the ministers had closed the services, the "gifted brothers" would seize every opportunity to pour forth their indigested effusions. These exhibitions increased with the increasing liberty of that age. They received a fresh impulse from the fanaticism of Cromwell and his dependants: they carried them to the summit of extravagance. In his new model of the army, Cromwell had appointed no chaplains; and after the battle of Naseby, the chaplains, who had till this time retained their stations, returned to their cures. From this time enthusiasm spread through the army with a sweeping desolation.* The officers acted as chaplains. Wherever they came they seized on the pulpits and preached. They poured out in rapturous style their crude and extravagant opinions. They mistook the passion of speaking for inspirations. Even the common soldiers were carried away by the same spirit. They spent their leisure hours in preaching to the people. Mechanics, and, at last, the women could no longer restrain the spirit: they assembled their audiences, and preached and prayed with marvellous fluency.† The voice of reason, and of the scriptures, and of the ministry, was lost in the general tumult.

Among the sectarians who figured at that time, we find the Seekers, the Familists and the Behmenites, particularly specified.‡ They had propagated their tenets by means of humble pamphlets, industriously scattered among the people. They were in the habit of entering churches, and interrupting the ministry during divine service. They taught by word and by signs. They walked the streets in sackcloth, denouncing woes. Six soldiers entered a parish church: one of them had five candles; he declared that five things were now abolished; and he proceeded to extinguish a candle as he named the different articles. Of these five things

* A. D. 1645. See Hume, vol. v. ch. 57. Neal iii. ch. 7.
† Warner's Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 569.
‡ Edward's Gangrena.

abolished, three were, the Sabbath, the ministry, and the holy Bible.*

§ 3. In this general confusion of things in church and state, and when the harvest of fanaticism was ready for an enterprising reaper, George Fox appeared in his public character: this was about the year 1644.

As in every other case, where the founder of a new sect is brought into view, the most opposite characters are given of this man. His converts have canonized him. Eccles styled him "the friend of God, and the great apostle of Christ."† And Penn, who professed never to give vain titles; who would not lift his hat to his father, nor even to his king; honours him with the title of "a man of God, a true prophet, and a true apostle."‡ Elwood,§ after having tacked together, in his character, almost all the adjectives of the English language, seems to deplore the barrenness of its epithets. The Society did an honour to his Journal which they have not yet vouchsafed to the holiest volume: they introduced it into their meeting in the Savoy, London, and deposited it in a box, there to be at hand, as their text book; and in their famous school at Bansworth, select passages were enjoined to be read every day by the pupils.‖ Some of his converts have gone greater lengths: Audland addressed him in the style of prayer.¶ Cole called him the "father of many nations." "Fox's power," he said, "had reached through his children to the isles afar off."—"His being and habitation was in the power of the highest, by whose power he ruled and reigned; his kingdom was established in peace, and the increase thereof is without end." Nor was this the language of obscurity and ignorance: Penn actually justifies and applauds this homage paid to Fox.** It was from this testimony of loyalty that the wits of that age styled him "King George Fox:" his attending ministers were "his court:" his dogmatical epistles were "royal edicts."††

* Hume's History, vol. v. and note pp.
† Bugg. p. 177. ‡ Vol. ii. 211. § Pref. to Fox. Jour.
‖ Leslie "Snake," &c. p. 147, 148. ed. of 1696.
¶ See his letter, in its orig. form, in the "Snake," p. 369. third ed. and Bugg Pict. p. 67, A. D. 1714.
** See Bugg's New Rome, p. 33, 34, and these words of Cole defended by Penn, vol. ii. 215, 216. and 443.
†† "Spirit of the Hat," p. 11, and Penn, ii. 204.

On the other hand, Dr. Henry More, the friend of Penn, held up Fox to public resentment, as a *melancholy fanatic, and possessed of a devil.**

The last character who has attempted the character of Fox is Clarkson; and though it was done long after the subsiding of party spirit, it is as partial, and as wide of sober history, as those of his compatriots. Without examining the composition in Fox's public character, he has contented himself with some declamation on his courage, zeal, and similar qualities. But such had Nero; such had Mahommed; and a Mary, queen of England, was so conscientious, and so zealous, that she could not retain the lands wrested from the Romish church, "because she valued the salvation of her soul more than ten kingdoms."† It is not the possession merely of these qualities, it is the cause in which they are called forth, and the good motives which regulate them, that determine the true character of the agent. There have been martyrs for every heresy. It is the holy cause which makes the Christian martyr. Martyrdom merely demonstrates the sincerity of the sufferer.

In drawing the character of Fox, I shall not, with More, call him "a devil:" neither shall I deify him; and I cannot be charged with injustice if I shall take no other book than his own Journal, and Sewell's History, for my guides. I shall not even take the advantage of quotations from his earliest writings, nor the first editions of his book: I will take it as it lies before the public, after having undergone the severest castigations of modern critics:‡ for I have proofs before me that they have expunged ideas and expressions which no modern ear could endure.

G. Fox was of an obscure birth. He was in early youth apprenticed to a cordwainer. He was so illiterate that he could scarcely write a legible hand, or even spell. His letters, deposited in Zion college library, and his will, were adduced to prove that he could not write a sentence of correct English.§ He was distinguished in youth for his sullen silence; in his advanced years

* Theol. works, folio, Myst. of Godl. book 10, ch. 13, and Schol. in Dial. v. sec. 5.

† Warner's Ch. Hist. ii. 371. folio.

‡ Phil. ed. 2 vols. 8vo. A. D. 1808.

§ Ellwood wrote his Journal.

for the extreme volubility of his speech. He possessed uncommon sensibility of mind: he had a tender and benevolent heart. He felt religious impressions at an early age: he spoke with ardour of the love of God. Had he been placed in proper hands at that interesting crisis, he might have become a useful citizen, and of service to the church; but he was seduced by the ignorance and fanaticism of the age. He was a mystic after the manner of Behmen: he came, like him, through the ordeal of silence and deep retirement. In his doublet, and breeches of leather, and girded, in a primitive manner, with his leathern girdle, he strolled over the country, spending whole days in hollow trees and lonesome dells, and five-long nights in painful watchings.* He abstained from food sometimes for several days.†

> "The web of thought
> Was shatter'd; burst into a thousand threads.—
> He loathed and sickened at the name of knowledge."
> *Goethe's Faustus.*

> "Qui miser in campis moerens errabat aleis,
> Ipse suum cor edens hominum vestigia vitans." *Hom. by Cic.*

This induced a disease: when attempts were made to bleed him, no blood could be found. At another time he was so entranced, or carried out of himself, that it was supposed that he was dead. Out of this trance he arose so altered, that his body seemed to be new moulded.‡ He read his bible; but he had read Behmen more.§ According to the doctrine of his master, the result of this mental agony was, that "the spirit of darkness was chained:" "the power of God was over all:" "the pure fire appeared in him."‖ The sensorium was so purified that he could *discern spirits:* for he too claimed this high prerogative; or, in the words of Hudibras, he

* Jour. i. p. 90, 158.

† Sec. i. 165. ‡ Sec. i. 99.

§ Compare Taylor's Platonic Operation on the Mind by the Catholic virtues, the first part of Fox's Journal. Tayl. ii. 277. That the Platonic writings were familiar and accessible to all, appears from these facts. Penn praises the Platonic studies of Keith. Penn's Let. to Turner. See "Snake," &c. p. 333. Behmen's Avera, or Day Spring, was published in 1650; and Okely states, that some of B.'s works had gone through four editions before *his* new translation.

‖ Sec. i. 94.

> " Had lights where other eyes were blind,
> As pigs are said to see the wind."

Like Behmen, he carried his spirit of discerning into the virtues of plants and creatures:* but he played it off to grander effect on the human heart. He discerned who were saints, who were devils, or apostates, " *without speaking a word.*"† He was particularly successful in this line among the fair and frail members of his audience. " Thou hast been a harlot," said this oracle to one: " Thou hast an unclean spirit," said he to another, with an effrontery which would have appalled an Amazon.‡

This singular character began to discover, by the most natural train of thinking, that this inward "*fire*," or "*light*," being "*Christ*," superseded the use of external means. He went no more to the church, except only to reprove priest and people; he conceived a strange antipathy to "*steeple houses:*" the sight of them "*struck at his life.*"§

He was ushered into his public ministry by his precursor Brown. This *precursor* had " great prophecies and sights of him on his death bed."‖ It was at the death of this man that Fox had his greatest Platonic purification, and his spirit of discerning perfected.

He was highly favoured with visions: he saw an angel of the Lord standing with a glittering sword:¶ he saw a rent in the earth, and smoke coming out of it.** By a sort of second sight he saw the visions of vast multitudes coming to him in white clothing. As he set his missionary foot on the soil of Scotland he "*felt the seed of God to sparkle about him like fire.*"†† He saw the heavens opened to him; he was caught up into the paradise of God, and heard the intimation made to him that his name was in the book of life.‡‡ How true is the saying " ωσαι αι ὴ φυσις καλος εστι και μελαγχολικη παντοδοπως 'οψεις ὁρωσι !"§§

* Sewel, vol. i p. 43, edit. of 1811.

† Fox Great Myst. p. 89. Penn vindicates his claims. See his " Winding Sheet," sec. 2. In this treatise Penn advocates his claims of *infallibility !*

‡ Journal, sec. i. p. 220. There are five instances recorded there of dooms pronounced agaist females by this oracle.

§ Sec. i. 149.

‖ Sec. i. 99.

¶ Sewel, vol. ii. p. 91.

** Jour. vol. i. 180.

†† Journal, i. 448.

‡‡ Sec. i. 109, 241.

§§ Aristotle e Div. " Men that are of a talkative and melancholy temper see any kind of visions."

The system of his doctrine was simple. It was built on the "*Christ within.*" His sufferings were within: his resurrection was within: the rule and guide were within: nay none has a glory and a heaven but that which is within.*

In his whole line of conduct he professed to be guided by impulses from the oracle within; these dictated the nature, the manner, the time of his services. Moved by these, he made, during divine service, an irruption into the great church at Nottingham, and roared out against the doctrines of the preacher!† Wherever he travelled, it "was in the motion of God's power."‡ It was by the same "power" he was prohibited from *taking off his hat*, or *bowing* or *scraping* to any man. It dictated to him the orthodox use of "thee and thou." This the Society called the *new tongue, with which they spoke as the spirit gave them utterance.*§ When sitting down to eat, the spirit would say "*eat not*," and he instantly obeyed.‖ In one of his apostolical journeys, the spirit moved him to go to the top of Pendle hill, and forthwith he scaled its lofty cliffs.¶ On the summit of another hill he was thrown into a trance: in the extacy of his visions he could not contain himself, but like the young Ciceronian, who pronounced his maiden speech to the cabbages in his mother's garden, Fox poured forth with all the energies of inspiration, "*the notable day*," to the winds and the barren heath.** He was moved, in one of his marches to Litchfield, in the middle of winter, to throw off his shoes, and to walk barefooted through that city, while he made the streets re-echo with the lugubrious shouts of "*wo, wo, wo to the bloody city of Litchfield!*" When he returned to his shoes, he felt

* See Fox's Great Mystery, anct. edit. p. 214. Snake, &c. p. 164.

† See more specimens of this zeal, Jewel, vol. i. p. 51, 55, edit. 1811.—The Society has referred to this zeal of Fox with evident approbation. See Vind. of Quak. Mosh. vol. iv. 9, edit. of 1821. Mr. Clarkson has ventured to state, that "*Fox disapproved of his own conduct, in having interrupted the public service in the church of Nottingham.*" Portrait, vol. i. p. xi. But the Society will not thank him for this stretch of charity. Fox acted this whole scene (if we may believe himself) by an immediate revelation: as he came within sight of the church, "*The Lord said unto him, go and cry against yonder idol, and the worshippers in it.*" Journal, vol. i. p. 115. To have disapproved of his own conduct would have been to condemn his inspirations, and to give up his divine commission Clarkson was not aware of this. He has ventured to teach before he learned the principles of the Society.

‡ Sec. i. p. 241. § Burroughs's works, fol. p. 273, ed. 1672.

‖ Sec. i. 172. ¶ Vol. i. p. 173. ** Sec. i. p. 36.

the "*fire of God*" so in his feet, and all over him, that he was dutifully constrained to wait for a divine signal to put on his shoes. After some suspense, with his bare feet in the snow, the oracle permitted him to put them on.*

He possessed invincible courage: this was bottomed on the conviction that his commission was equal to that of the apostles.† He went further: "*He knew nothing but pureness and innocence: he was renewed up into the image of God, and had arrived into the state of Adam before the fall.*"‡ With such a commission, and such sinless perfection, he came forth to tell a guilty world "*that God was come himself to teach the people:*"§ that all their ordinances and sacraments were done away: and that all must turn to the pure light in every one of themselves. Wherever he came, "*the power of God was over all.*" Strangers bowed before him: priests were struck dumb: great doctors melted away: "some of them ran and hid themselves under hedges:" it was only necessary to say that "*the man in the leather breeches was come,*" and the power of God fell on them.‖ His accusers went mad and hanged themselves.¶

So marvellous were his ministrations in "*steeple houses,*" by way of episodes to the services, that a great woman, as he modestly tells us, took him, as he slunk away, for "an angel," or at least "a spirit."** So dreadful was the power of God accompanying his labours, that "*the people flew like chaff before him into their houses.*"†† As he prayed the people trembled, and the house was shaken. He healed the sick—he cured the lame—restored a man who had his neck broken—cast out spirits.‡‡ Distressed souls, he tells us, were sent out of the church by a revelation, to seek his presence and to receive from him light and comfort.§§ And the plague of London, and the Dutch war came in fulfilment of a Quaker prophecy, to avenge the injuries done to that sect.‖‖

> ——"Nihil est, quod credere de se,
> Non possit, quum laudatur dis æqua potestas." *Juv. Sat.* iv. 71.

He had his share of vanity: though literally an ignorant man, he affected to write letters to kings, and princes, and ma-

* Vol. i. 169. † i. 111. ‡ i. p. 104.
§ Vol. i. 169. ‖ i. 158. ¶ Sec. 167.
** Vol. i. 152. †† i. p. 186.
‡‡ See Journal index, at the word "Miracles."
§§ Vol. i. p. 139. ‖‖ Sewel, vol. ii. book viii. p. 148.

gistrates. He dictated some to the Pope, to the Grand Turk, and even to the emperor of China.* And as a sovereign displays himself, from his balcony, to his admiring subjects, G. Fox tells us, that at a great meeting, "he was moved by the Lord to take off his hat, and to stand awhile, to let the people look at him, for some thousands were there."† And to crown the climax, he declared, that having Christ in him, he was *equal* with God, and was the *judge of the world!*‡

From A. D. 1644 to the close of his life, Fox went on to plant, with a bold hand, the standard of mysticism. He soon found associates armed with zeal equal to his own. Naylor, Jarnsworth, Howgill, Burroughs, Penn, and Whitehead, are enrolled among their first elders. These, with the exception of Penn, were men of the lowest education, and of superficial minds, but of great sensibility. They had the misfortune to be seduced in their youth by the doctrines of the mystics, which had hurled reason from her throne in no weak minds. In them it met no barrier from the scriptures or from science; they shared, therefore, the same fate.

This however, was no bar in *their* way. Folios can be written without the aid of learning, and without even the weight of brains, or the solidity of intellect. And there is a height of eloquence to which a mind labouring under a specific derangement can alone ascend. The feelings and passions are lashed into fury. They are titled with the holy and much injured name of inspiration; they set reason and judgment at defiance; the sober argument of science, and the habit of profound research would only extinguish its flame. Their motto was from the oracle:

"*Cedamus Phoebo, et moniti meliora sequamur.*" VIRG.

§ 9. Such were these men. Believing themselves inspired, and armed with apostolic powers, they issued from their obscurity

* Catal. of Quak. books quoted by the grand jury of Norfolk, 1699, and Bugg. Pict. p, 334.

† Vol. i. p. 369.

‡ Fox's Great Myst. p. 282, 248, and his Saul's Errand to Damas. p. 8. Howgill's works, A. D. 1676, p. 232, and Penn, in his Invalidity of Faldo, admits Fox's words, and explains; and this doctrine of equality with God is taught by Taulerus, the mystic, whom Barclay applauds—(Apol. p. 363.) See the Sermons of Taulerus, quoted by Brown, *Quakerism*, p, 434, 435, &c.

to turn the world to righteousness. They used the language of scripture with a convenient ambiguity: Christ was the "light within:" his blood was within; the spirit was the same; the cross was the power of God within; they had an appearance of piety to excess, a zeal that approached almost to madness; an assurance to presumption; patience to apathy; a perseverance to the neglect of even self-preservation.*

They had no difficulty in adapting themselves to the lowest class of the people. Their declaration against tythes, was just and imposing. They offered their followers liberty from church power, from hireling priests, and from the grievous burden of supporting the ministry. Their eloquence was of the most frantic nature; to a perpetual and monotonous flow of verbiage, they united all their peculiarity of gestures; they shook the head; they nodded; they shrugged the shoulders; their brawny arms dangled by their sides, or assumed the most threatening postures; their frames shook; their mouths foamed; then with deep intonations, ushered forth by a singular quavering, they "*would bellow as they'd burst the heavens.*"† Then their looks wild and haggard,‡ from toils and fastings, and cruel sufferings from an unrighteous magistracy, added fearfully to the effect, and made awful impressions on the superstitious and young. They

> "Denounced and prayed with fierce devotion;—
> "Stole from the *mystics* all their tones,
> "And gifted mortified groans:—
> "Made children with their tones to run for't;
> "As bad as bloody bones, and Lunford!"
>
> HUDIBRAS.

The natural disposition of these men had, at first, urged them on to attempt their innovations; but their energies were called forth, and their zeal excited to an amazing degree, by the visible impressions which they had made on the illiterate multitude: and as much by the hosannahs with which their disciples cheered them in their singular career.§ They struggled, they suffered,

* See Journal, vol. i. Passion.

† See the petition of the county of Lancaster, (E.) in Leslie's Snake, &c. sec. 3.

‡ Fox's Jour. i. 502.

§ "O! blessed be the day in which thou wast born"—"O! dear heart, go on conquering and to conquer," &c. See Sew. vol. ii. book viii. p. 104.

they wrote, they published, and industriously scattered about every item of their inspirations.

§ 10. Their success in England and in Ireland, was considerable. Fanaticism had poured out her intoxicating influence on the multitude. The tyranny of a bloody hierarchy was continuing to drive men from her protection. Error and heresy are often more zealous and active than truth. They seized with avidity on the opportunities presented to them of joining the wandering multitude into their folds; they affected more conversions to Quakerism by the distribution of their books, than by their declamations; to this object they devoted extensive funds. When the society was organized, the respective meetings were laid under heavy contributions. Out of these a fund was formed to defray the expense of printing and publishing the works of their authors. Every facility was thus offered to those who chose to enter the lists. This, as might justly be expected, called forth hosts of writers. The expenses were promptly met: and effectual means were taken to distribute their works without trouble on the part of the authors. The quantity of Quaker books, by this means, poured from the press, is almost incredible. Whiting's catalogue of their books alone, consists of two hundred and thirty-two pages. It contains a list of three thousand six hundred and eleven books. Upwards of six hundred other volumes were added; making 4269 volumes. Each impression of these contained about a thousand copies on an average. Thus the society, previous to A. D. 1715, had sent forth four million two hundred and sixty-nine thousand volumes and tracts.* From the same funds they have kept Barclay afloat. They published an edition of twelve thousand; of these, ten thousand copies were distributed *gratis*. They had their booksellers in London who were actively engaged in selling and distributing their works. In the country, men were employed to carry them on pack horses, in all directions; and they have been known to scatter their books and tracts along the highways and in the streets.†

* Bugg's Pict. of Quak. part 3, p. 101.
† Do. p. 103.

§ 11. But of all the causes which operated in favour of this Society, persecution was, perhaps, the most efficient. Man, prompted by his feelings, will always take the part of the oppressed: and if the oppressed manifest the courage of a man under his sufferings, and the forgiving spirit of a christian, let his cause be bad or good, the people will always laud his cause and bless the martyr. Persecution will make the most ordinary character become popular. It is true of every sectarian, and of every society, that the blood of their martyrs is the seed of their church. Had the Welch let Fox talk his day, and then peaceably take himself away, their churches had not heard his name. But his imprisonment, and subsequent sufferings in Cornwall, spread his name, and Quakerism, in that region widely.* The Saxons managed things better: the severest stroke that fell on their fanatic Behmen, was the sentence of the electoral prince, and the learned divines at Dresden, who dismissed him with these words: "*We cannot condemn thee, because we cannot understand thee.*"†

Why has England been so slow in listening to reason, to the common feelings of humanity, and to the mild religion of Jesus, which breathes the spirit of liberty to the conscience? Her distinguished divines and civilians had been long raising their entreating voice; they had made the most feeling appeals to her misguided government; they had implored her, but in vain, to arrest, or at least to soften down the fiery persecutions of such priests as Bancroft, and Laud, and Sheldon—men who had stained the mitre with the best blood of the nation. Her Welch divine, Roger Williams, had ably advocated the doctrine of toleration to all sects. Her learned Owen had once and again, amid the ragings of the most unnatural persecutions, presented his appeals in behalf of toleration and indulgence. Her illustrious Milton had followed him with luminous arguments. Her bishop Taylor, and her Locke, had brought all the weight of piety and talent into the field. Yet Williams, and the Baltimores, and Penn, were the first who could carry the thing into effect—but it was on the shores of America!‡

* Gough's Hist. p. 217. Neal's Hist. vol. iv. p. 306. Bost. edit.
† Memoirs of Behmen, by Okely. Edit. of &. D. 1780.
‡ Gibbon, with an insiduous sneer, remarks, "I am sorry to observe

Had the English magistracy taken Fox, and entreated him kindly; had they sent him home, fed and clothed, to his troubled relatives, (for he had not, like the Arabian impostor, taken care to convert his relations first,) and had the wits attacked his motley system with the couplets of Hudibras, they had dispersed his followers; and, perhaps, have spared the church of God the existence of modern mysticism!

§ 12. The reception of Fox in Scotland was very different: though he left England with a prophecy, and set his foot on Scottish ground with a marvellous vision *of the seed of God sparkling about him*,* which betokened countless hosts flocking to his standard there, he failed almost totally in the object of his pilgrimage.

This was owing to the genius and habits of that people. The author of "Modern Europe," like† many other theorists, who theorise, and prejudge, instead of collecting facts and reasoning from them, has formed a very erroneous view of the religious character of the Scottish nation. The *Presbytery* has not, as he supposes, breathed a gloomy and fanatical spirit among them. That people has ever been characterized by a bold and un-

that the three writers by whom the rights of *toleration*"---(to have written intelligibly he should have said *conscience*)----have been so nobly defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all *laymen*." Dec. and Fall of Rome, vii. ch. 54, ad fin. Note. Mr. Williams first led the way, in A. D. 1643 or 1644, with his book, *The Bloody Tenant, or a Dialogue between Truth and Peace*. In this book his strong mind urges those arguments which, at the distance of fifty years, the great Locke pursued with greater energy and success. See Verplank's Histor. Disc. delivered before the New York Histor. Soc. 1818, and the Analectic Magaz. Feb. 1819, p. 142. Williams reduced to practice his theory in Rhode Island, when the Quakers disturbed his peaceful province. Though he had the power, he attacked them only by his *invectives*, *syllogisms*, and *puns*. He wrote a book against Fox and Burroughs, which he named *The Fox digged out of his Burrows*. Dr. Owen's first *Plea* appeared in A. D. 1647; Milton's in A. D. 1658; then bishop Jeremy Taylor; Penn, in A. D. 1681; and Fenelon, and then Locke, in A. D. 1689. See Dr. Owen's *Two Pleas for Indulgence and Toleration*, and Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iv. 309, 310. Bost. edit. of 1817. Bayle began to publish his works in A. D 1611, after he had accepted a professor's chair at Rotterdam. For Leibnitz, he was an infant, "*mewling and puking in his nurse's arms*," when the immortal Owen published his first *Plea*. Leibnitz was born A. D 1646.--- These Independent Clergymen, were unquestionably the first teachers of religious liberty. See Orme's Memoirs of Dr. Owen. Lond 1820, p. 99, &c. Edinb. Review, No. 71, p. 229.

* Jour. vol. i. p. 448. † Vol. iii. p. 196.

daunted spirit in religion, as well as in politics. The Scottish mind in its texture, naturally firm and independent, fierce and impatient of control; and, moreover, trained up under a discipline far from being indulgent, but on the contrary severe, and even rigorous, as well in the domestic as in the public application of it, has been gradually brought into this national habit under various causes. There are two which seem to have exerted no small influence over this natural firmness and independence in religion. First---Before the accession of James VI. to the English throne, the feudal aristocratical system had been in great force; the vassals of the two rival parties (the king and the nobles) were much caressed by their respective feudal lords, in order to secure and strengthen their attachment. This made the vassals who were in fact the body of the people, feel their weight and importance. Second---The ministers, and the laymen, in the character of elders, meet in the assemblies for government on the same floor, on a footing of the most perfect equality. This equality rouses the mind to vigorous exertion: it creates a boldness of inquiry, and energy in deciding on matters of the greatest importance; and in proportion as a nation is enlightened, the spirit of inquiry in religion, even more than in politics, will show itself impatient of restraint from the highest human influence.

Nor should I omit the influence on the public mind of that unquestionable right of every free christian man to have a voice in the choice of his spiritual guide. This, perhaps, as much as any other, keeps up the high tone of the people's independence and firmness in religious matters; and in times to which I refer, the Scottish Presbyterians exercised that right. The act of A. D. 1711 had not paralyzed the people's energies, nor had the act of A. D. 1784 completed the mischief.*

This equality of Presbytery has diffused this spirit among all ranks in that country; and the manner in which the pastor's duties are discharged necessarily keeps up the excitement. The

* It is rather a singular fact, that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, from the year 1711 to 1784, professed to consider the law of patronage a grievance. Hence they gave annually their instructions to their commission to seek every opportunity of getting that law abolished by parliament; but in A. D. 1784 they gave this up, and tamely submitted, and wished "*no innovations in settling vacant churches.*"

parish minister does not stand at that awful distance from his flock which is constantly witnessed in the hierarchy. He visits every family: he exhorts and prays with his humblest cottagers: he carries home his instructions in this manner to their fire sides. They reason, they judge, they decide for themselves: and such is the genius of that metaphysical and daring people, that having once made their decision, no earthly power---or to use a proverb which originated in the days to which I allude---"neither the de'il nor Claverhouse" could shake them from their purpose.

Hence from an early period they have been a sober and grave people. Their firmness in religion displays not the stubbornness of the bigot, but the energy of the soul that has examined and decided for itself. Their reserve and gravity is not the gloom of the fanatic; it is the habit of a mind addicted to anxious reflection and daily devotion. The Scottish population, with all their faults, are equally removed from the gloom of the fanatic and the madness of the enthusiast, as they are from the frigid indifference, "the fat contented ignorance" of the uneducated population of England, which frames its creed, too often, to the views of the present incumbent, who comes without their call, and who goes without their regrets!

Such is a rude outline of the religious character of the Scottish nation, during the religious phrenzy in the commonwealth of England. Bishop Burnet has given a fair picture of it. The old Scotch ministry, before the Restoration, says the good bishop, were a brave and solemn people; their spirits were eager, their tempers soured by universal sufferings; but their appearance created respect. They visited their parishes much; they were full of the scriptures; they could speak *extempore* on any doctrine, and with fluency: they were ready at prayer; it was the custom of the people, after dinner and supper, to read the scriptures, and the minister, when present, would expound them to the family. By this means, such a degree of knowledge and piety was diffused among the people, that the poor cottagers could pray *extempore*, and discourse with accuracy on the leading doctrines of the gospel.*

When these ministers were driven from their churches, at the

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 84, 226. Edinb. edit.

Restoration, they were succeeded by bishops and priests. "These," says the bishop, "were ignorant to a reproach, and openly vicious."* The principal nobility and the priests were the creatures of the court and of Charles II. Through these fit channels the court poured its pestilential influence over the unhappy land. Ignorance and impiety, and boisterous profligacy, spread their desolations among the higher circles. Nor did they confine their desolating ravages to these: they swept before them the great mass of the population.†

National crimes are like raging torrents: when they burst the barriers they sweep all before them, with a fury encreased by the very means of their restraint. The Presbyterians and Independents, under that religious spirit, by which the public mind had received such an impulse in that age, had manifested a laudable zeal for the prosperity of the church of God. Much impressed with religious matters, much exercised in secret devotions, they did not shake off the deep formed habits and temper of their minds; they brought these forth, in a most natural manner, into active life. Their common conversation, their political measures, their every employment, bewrayed often unconsciously, minds deeply engaged in religious matters; the affairs of the church were deemed, to say the least, fully as important as those of the state. Reformation in the former was of equal importance at least with that of the latter; hence among these christian patriots the news of the day had yielded to religious intelligence, or theological discussion. The retailing of family secrets and scandal was displaced by statements of cases of conscience and christian experience; riot and mirth had been displaced by social meetings and prayer; the music that lent its charms to a pitiful ballad, or an indecorous song, had yielded to the rustic notes of psalmody flowing warm from the heart. The field, the desert, the street, rung morning and evening with these wild unmeasured notes. They were above criticism; for on them floated the praises of Almighty God, from the bosoms of a simple and pious people. Every thing earthly has its drawback. These good men were not without their blemishes, and many

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 229. Neal's Hist. of the Purit. vol. iv. p. 383. Bost. edit.

† Cook's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii. ch. 22.

had mingled with them who yielded to the ungovernable spirit of enthusiasm; these too often formed a strange medley of things earthly and things spiritual. They often made sudden and rude translations from earthly things to religion; and from religion to trifles. They carried on their profane lips the most sacred things into common conversation. They used indecent freedom in their conversational prayers to the Almighty; they renounced the common names of ancestry, and with ridiculous gravity assumed names appropriated to the saints and the elect; and as the nobility blazon a sentence on the scroll of their arms, they adopted occasionally a whole text, or the member of a text, for a surname. Their disgusting cant rung eternally on the ears of men in the house, in the field, in the conventicle, and in the camp.

Charles II, and his licentious courtiers identified religion with these men men and their measures. Unable, or unwilling to distinguish the hypocrite from the pious, accustomed to associate in their minds the profanity and irreligion of the cavalier with his loyalty, they hated religion, and the very name of religion, because it was so much on the lips of those who had put them down.* Of course when Charles II, and his creatures gained the ascendancy, their zeal burned with equal fury against religion as against the treason of their enemies. To scoff at religion, to burlesque the most sacred truths, to become slaves to vice; and not only to palliate, but to glory in crime, soon became the prominent feature in the manners of that age. Impiety and profligacy became identified with loyalty; to be vicious was to be in the path of honours and offices. On the contrary, a devout life, an abhorrence of crime, brought honest men to death on the gibbet, or by the steel of the life guards. And in military rencontres, and in the mock trials before a military jury, or before the council, there was no surer way for the victim to escape the fangs of the military assassins, the Grahams, the Dalziels, the Yorks of that day, than to make proof by imprecations and riotings, that he was no psalm-singer, nor a covenanter, nor even a christian---but only a very wicked man! The bowels of the inquisitors were moved marvellously in them at the well known voice of brotherhood and loyalty.

* See the interesting "Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson," by his accomplished Lady, p. 358. 4to.

In this deplorable state of religion and morals there was an illustrious band of christian patriots, neither small in numbers nor of little influence, who presented a bold front against invading error and profligacy. Among these the persecuted ministers lurked, and held their assemblies by stealth on the moors or in the morasses. These martyrs kept alive the spark of vital religion, and truth, and liberty in that degenerate age. Their influence was secret, but extensive; their ardour inspired their followers with a noble enthusiasm in the cause of truth; they were prepared to defend the holy cause of religion and their lives, equally by the force of argument and by the edge of the sword; and they actually did so.*

Through the storm of persecution, which raged for twenty and eight years,† these christian patriots maintained their righteous cause with various success. By an overwhelming power they were at last broken down, and driven to the wilds and fastnesses of their rugged country. Even thither the tyrant's vengeance pursued them: he turned loose on them a brutal soldiery; urged on by such ferocious assassins as Graham of Claverhouse, and Dalziel, they swept the land like the pestilential blast of the desert, breathing out death and destruction; they spared neither men, women, nor children; they employed, in some instances, the sagacity of the blood-hounds to discover their retreats, and hunt them down.‡ At last the Almighty looked upon their sorrows, and pitied their agonies. He roused the sleeping energies of their country; he hurled the Stewarts from the throne of their fathers, and their bloody oppressors in the dust. He put the reins of government into hands which conferred a portion, at least, of her rights on bleeding Scotland.

In the days of the national settlement, justice was not rendered to these brave and pious men, who, with all their failings, (and they were not great,) had secured to their country all the civil and religious liberty which she enjoys.§ That country has

*Wodrow's Church Hist. and Cruikshank's Hist. of that period; Cook's Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. iii. ch. 24, &c. See Hume's Hist. vol. iii. ch. 40. p. 58. Ed. of A. D. 1822, and Quart. Review, No. 25. on Charles I. Char.

† From the Restoration of Charles II. A. D. 1660, to the Revolution, A. D. 1688.

‡ Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii.

§ Edinb. Rev. No. 54, p. 258.

not paid yet the debt of gratitude; that country has not protected their memory from insult; she permits, without a burst of public indignation, the infidel historian to follow the partial and absurd details of those royalists who confounded the virtuous struggles of a people to regain their liberties with the crime of treason. She permits him to confound virtue and vice; to asperse the memory of her best patriots; to laud the name of the atrocious Clavers!*

The poet and the novelist have lent their bewitching aid in the work of slander. At one time they laud, with mawkish sentimentalism, the piety of English inquisitors and Scottish bishops, whose hands were dipt in human blood to the wrists. At another time they worship, in sublime style, and hardly without tears, the gallant deeds of the muscovegran savage Dalziel, and the vandal Clavers, who butchered, in cold blood, the father and son; the mother and infant, and blooming maid! who shot down, as the deer of the forest, free born citizens, without a trial, on their own land, and at their own fire sides!—At one time we see them throwing themselves into theatrical attitudes at the fictitious rusticity and ferocious habits of the men of the conventicles. At other times with imperturbable impudence they disturb the awful repose of the sainted martyrs, and drag them from their bed of glory to hold them up, in the rusticity and fanaticism which they have made to clothe them, to the laugh of the vulgar, and the scoff of the profane.† The hierarchy, galled at the victory gained over its tyrannical and bloody purpose, to dragoon a nation into its religion and ceremonies, has impo-

* See Hume's well known partial history of this period. vol. iv. chap. 66, 67, &c.

† The inimitable beauties of "Old Mortality," can never atone to the church for that studied concealment of much of the character of the bloody Graham, which the mind cannot contemplate in real history, without deep oppression; for that generosity and heroism with which her deadliest enemy is invested; (Edinburgh Review, No. 54, p. 259.) for the studied concealment of cool-blooded personal murders; for that outrage offered to sacred doctrines and worthy ministers, by the fictitious preachments put into the lips of its orators and conventicle men; and for its slanderous, or to say the least, thoughtless charges of murder brought against good men. Nothing can be more outrageous to historical fact, than the fictitious death of cornet Graham at Drumclog, or that horrible fiction of intended murder on the evening of the battle of Bothwell Bridge.

tently and ungenerously branded their virtuous struggle with the opprobrious name of the "*grand rebellion.*" Nay, they have been wounded by their degenerate sons. "*Tu quoque mi fili, Brute.*" Not contented with that outrageous length of Erastianism into which they have gone; a moderate share of which we Americans could have forgiven to men in their circumstances; not content with their unblushing testimony of perfect indifference to the form of church government, while they cling to the civil establishment, which damns all other but its own; not contented with telling us Americans that the presbytery of Scotland was the mere effect of fortuitous circumstances,* they have dared to violate the sacred memory of our martyrs; for we two are presbyterians: and to represent the calm and christian peace of their last moments as the effects of enthusiasm.† But let shame cover the face of that man who yields the honour of his native country to the popular sentiment of a foreign kingdom: and who is so cowardly, or so venal as to court popularity by surrendering the glory of his native patriots to the form of the hierarchy; to the sneer of profligates, or to the ridicule of the infidel mob! My martyred ancestors! I feel more pride in the deeds of your prowess in the ranks of those patriotic christians who contended by the pen and the sword, for the illustrious prize of religion and liberty, than if you had worn the fairest coronet in the ranks of the licensed oppressors of their country and of the church!

§ 13. It was during the excitement of this period, and among people strongly marked by this character, that the early Quakers fell in their first missionary tours into Scotland. They found the tempers of the people soured, but not gloomy. They found them enthusiastically attached to that system of truth which their fathers had delivered to them, and sealed with their blood. But they soon discovered that they were not fanatics. The sacred scriptures they invariably and most scrupulously made the rule of their faith, and of their severe morals. Though firm believers in the holy and constant interpositions of Provi-

* See Cook's History of the Kirk of Scotland from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution, vol. iii. chap. 22, ad fin. Edin. Edit.

† See this display of modern bigotry in the remarks on the character and writings of that illustrious martyr James Guthrie. Cook. do. vol. iii. ch. 22. p. 240, 241.

dence, they were avowed and implacable enemies to the doctrines of the new revelations and impulses, which the Quakers brought. Hence they opposed a firm phalanx of reason and piety to George Fox's innovations. In the city of Glasgow he could not prevail "*on even one of the town to come to his meeting.*"*

The fact is, the higher circles, and the populace despised them; and the middling and lower classes of the community were too well informed, and had their minds too intensely fixed on the religious scenes before their eyes, to be seduced by such weak and ill-informed missionaries.

§ 14. That country was afterwards assailed from another quarter, and by a very different character. Though the Scottish nation never gave countenance to the principles of the Friends, it has, nevertheless, given the European and the American Quakers their best and most accomplished writer. This was Robert Barclay. Colonel Barclay, his father, a most amiable and polished gentleman, had, when abroad, imbibed the doctrines of the new sect.† He instilled them, with much zeal, into the youthful mind of his son, whom he had recalled from the Scottish college of Paris. R. Barclay possessed superior talents, and a good education for that age; but he had certainly been tainted by the Catholic doctrines, under the influence of his uncle of the Scots college‡.

Barclay had no disposition to imitate the leaders of the Society, nor would the genius of his nation have permitted him. While Fox and Penn came forward with all the naked deformities of mysticism, Barclay presented himself as an *apologist*. He appeared mild, candid, learned: he anxiously kept out of view those parts of the system which would shock the pious, and lay them open to the successful attacks of the learned. He touched not on their doctrine of the Trinity, nor on the proper divinity of Christ, nor on the true idea of the Atonement. He passed lightly on all their peculiarities which will not bear a strict scrutiny;

* Jour. vi. i. 442.

† It is certain, however, that he was fully initiated into its mysteries during his imprisonment in Edinburgh, by a fellow prisoner who had imported them from England. See Barclay's Life, duod. p. 10, 11.

‡ Bar. Life, p. 18. He admits this.

he selected those that bear a near resemblance to truth, and which, by an imposing air of benevolence and utility, prefer strong claims on the feelings of mankind. He made a dexterous use of the increasing attachment to Arminianism among some of the learned, and gave a powerful bias of his mystic system to that mode of thinking. He employed much art, and some degree of eloquence; he avoided the cant of his companions, yet he retained as much of their "luscious tedious way," as made the most rigid acknowledge him as a true heir of the spirit of the Society.*

We admire Barclay more as an amiable man and a scholar, than as a Quaker. His eminence, in this respect, is conspicuous, as he stands alone. The writers of his Society, with the exception of Penn, (I do not except Fisher,) were wild and rustic. We look into Barclay's good *modern* Latin, and his flowing style, rather as a literary curiosity and a proof of talent, than as a defence of Quakerism. It is, indeed, not calculated to please by consistency or perspicuity. We can allow him only the merit (and it is no small merit) of writing good *modern* Latin, and of making a judicious arrangement of all that an apologist can say in a bad cause. The English copy wants the elegance of the original;† it is tedious and dull. He thrusts, occasionally, an octavo page into one sentence. His ambiguities and defects are numerous and glaring.

But the Scottish nation, or rather the religious world, has not yet done justice to that distinguished man who entered the lists against Barclay, and helped to clear Scotland of this pestilence: I mean *John Brown of Wamphry*, who reviewed the Latin Apology in his book entitled "*Quakerism the Pathway to Paganism.*"‡

Barclay, as an apologist, appears with good grace. He comes forward with the easy elegance of an old Parisian; he possesses caution, shrewdness, and cunning. He shows a mind trained in a Catholic college among Jesuits and men of taste. He had his

* See the judicious note of Mosh. vol. v cent. 17, sec. 2, on Barclay.—Few writers have formed a more just idea of the sentiments of the Society than this accurate historian. He who has had the courage and patience to wade through the Quaker folios, and who next turns to Mosheim, will admire the accuracy and the lenity of that historian.

† See the Latin copy in the Philad. Public Library, No. 1167, 8vo.

‡ A small 4to. pp. 569. Edinburgh, A. D. 1678. See Note A. Appendix I.

afflictions;* but the laird of the barony of Ury† enjoyed affluence and domestic comfort. This had its influence on the style of the Apology.

But Brown of Wamphry came rushing down, like Laocoon, into the midst of his nation, and gives the alarm to his hesitating countrymen. Without troubling himself about consequences, he hurls his spear into the Grecian monster: he rouses the energy of ministers and people. The truth lay, he thought, clearly on his side. He felt the value of the glorious gospel, for which he had suffered even to bonds and cruel imprisonment; and for the sake of which, he was, at this time, banished from his native country, and the secret and soothing comforts of the domestic circle. His spirit was irritated. He was not very nice in the selection of his weapons. Like the hardy and brave Highlander in the dress and rude weapons of his ancestors; or like Sampson, with *the jaw bone of an ass*, he clears the field without any ceremony or respect to nice feelings. Every circumstance conspired to produce this excitement in Brown. The church lay bleeding under a persecution which had spread desolation over Scotland for many years.‡ Truth had fallen in the street under the steel of the hierarchy. Brown saw, with anguish, Barclay inflicting a fresh and a deep wound. He entered the single combat with the feelings of the hero who spreads his shield over his fallen friend. His feelings defy the curb of strict propriety. His scowling eye bids defiance to error only. He was not actuated by personal revenge. Grief and sorrow are uppermost in his breast, while he bends over the bleeding victim. He hurls into the dust the doctrines of Saccas; and the raging hero leaves not the field, till he has put down the foe, and scattered their ruins.§

The victory in Scotland was complete. The society does indeed pretend that Barclay's answer silenced Brown; but "Qua-

* Five months imprisonment by an unrighteous magistracy.

† In the North of Scotland.

‡ During the tyrannical power of Charles II. and James II.

§ The preface of Brown partakes, in a high degree, of the tone of controversy of that age. The partial author of the "Life of Barclay," and the ill-informed author of the article *Barclay*, in Brewster's Encyclopedia, have not done justice to Brown. The polemic of that age should not be compared with the moderns, but with his own contemporaries. I can produce, out of Penn and other leading Quaker authors, much that is equal to the worst in Brown, and much that is worse.

kerism confirmed" is a bare repetition of former assertions. Not an argument of Brown has been weakened. Besides, Brown's quarto was published in the close of the year 1678. Barclay's reply (which has sunk into oblivion,) must have been posterior to this. It could not have been seen by Brown; for while Barclay was admitted into the presence of Charles II, and was even gaining favours for his sect,* Brown perished in A. D. 1679, by a lingering disease, on a foreign shore; whither the cruelty of that persecuting tyrant and his brother, had pursued him.† But the result determines on whose side the victory lies. The Quakers were defeated; and even at this day, while they form a respectable portion of the population of England and America, there are only a few in the kingdom of Scotland, and even these few are decreasing.‡

§ 15. On the continent of Europe, the society gained, at an early day, a firm footing among the Protestants. Two causes operated greatly in its favour. It was there that the sect of the Mystics had widely diffused itself; and Pope Innocent XI, shortly after A. D. 1676, had issued his bull against Molinists and Quietists; and as the thunder of the vatican had always a fiery bolt accompanying it, many of these people were driven from the Catholic countries, to take shelter under the liberty enjoyed by Protestant Europe. These carried with them the seeds of the Quaker principles. Combining their efforts, these sects reaped a plentiful harvest in Holland and Germany.§

§ 16. The Friends were introduced on the continent of America by the celebrated William Penn. Under his fostering care and wise policy, they have grown up to be a powerful body. These differ considerably from the European Quakers. There are two prominent parts in their character, in which this differ-

* Bar. life p. 33, &c. edition of A. D. 1805.

† Mr. Ward's preface to Brown's book, "the Swan Song;" and preface to Brown on the Romans. Also Cruikshank's hist. vol. i ch. IV. and XI.

‡ "Of the society of Quakers in Scotland," says Sir John Carr, in A. D. 1808, "there are only between one hundred and one hundred and fifty, above seventeen years of age." Caledonian sketches, ch. 8, ad finem.

§ Germany has, of all countries, been the most fertile in enthusiasm. Sleidan asserts that, to his knowledge, there had appeared forty thousand pretenders to prophecy. Comment. lib. v.

ence is marked. *First*, They are not known to have exhibited many of those indecencies and frantic follies, into which the cruelty of persecution drove their early English brethren. And *second*, Availing themselves of their liberty, and their distance from the opposition carried on against their sect in Europe, they have propagated the early opinions of the society, with a license, in which no European Quaker could persuade himself to indulge.*

§ 17. There are three periods in the Quaker history. The first is the *Foxonian*. This period is distinguished by the obscurity of their ideas, and the outrageous disorders of their public conduct.† Their doctrines were not drawn from the Scriptures; they were not tangible to reason.‡ Their "*Christ within*" was taken by some of them, in a manner natural enough, for *Christ within them literally*. This led them into excesses in speech, and in practices. It became a favourite topic with them, to deny the necessity of the gospel history of the sufferings and death of our Lord. They affirmed, that those who had it not, may be saved, as well as those who do have it. Others even denied that there was any other Christ, and any other sufferings of Christ than those which are *within*;§ nor were their excesses in practice less frantic. Toldervy and Naylor, and Milner are melancholy instances of what befel not a few. Believing that *Christ dwelt in them as he did in him who was crucified on Calvary*, Naylor accepted of divine homage, and was led into Bristol on horseback, (in the absence of an ass),‖ while they shouted hosannahs to *that Son of God*. Toldervy having put himself through a form of crucifixion, covered himself in a paper winding sheet; lay three quarters of an hour (a quarter for a day,) and having risen "*by the mighty power of God*," he ran over fields and ditches into a Quaker meeting, and proclaimed that Christ was risen, and was now come to commission twelve of them to preach the gospel to the dark

* What these opinions are, we shall see presently. See Keith's "*Deism of W. Penn*;" and the life of Custer, who was an eye-witness, in Philadelphia, of the Keithian controversy. And Mosh. Eccl. Hist. vol. v. cent. 17, part 2, sect. 2, ch. 4.

† See a pamphlet, entitled "*Hell broke loose*;" and Hongill's reply, "*the mouth of the pit stopped*;" and Penn ii. 75.

‡ Dr. Owen on Trinity, Ed. 1798, p. 78.

§ See Smith's Primer for Quaker children, p. 8, and Mosh. vol. v. c. 17, part ii. sect. 2.

‖ From the "*difficulty*," Hume thinks, "*of finding an ass in Bristol!*"

world.* This whole period is marked by scenes of disorder. The leading Quakers strolled about, and burst into churches during the divine service; interrupting the worship, and insulting the ministry. They spoke contemptuously of the Holy Scriptures, and of all the divine ordinances.† This period extends from about A. D. 1645 to A. D. 1660.

In the second period, the society appears to more advantage. Their conduct is more orderly, and their tenets begin to be reduced to a system. This was the fruit of the labours of Penn, Keith, and other distinguished leaders; and being reduced to the form of a system, they appeared in their true light. "The Quakers," said a cotemporary of Penn, "who have for a long season hovered about like a swarm of flies, begin now to settle down in the opinions lately by them declared for."‡

Penn was, to say the least, a Sabellian. He rejected the holy doctrine of three distinct persons in the Godhead. He admitted that there is a Father, a Son, and a Holy Spirit; but he taught that these are the same. He appears, at other times, to breathe the spirit of a Socinian. He quotes and applauds the idea of Crellius, "that the Holy Spirit is the power and efficacy of God;" which enters into man, and is the same thing as divine inspiration§. In his "*sandy foundation*," Penn has engrafted on his mystic system, these tenets in their most virulent forms. Even Priestley's zeal meets a rival here. Even Hume, and the poet of Ferney are not more violent against the atonement of our Lord.‖ His belief on these fundamental articles was suspected at an early period. The suspicion was excited at a public dispute at the Spital in London. He there opposed, for the first time, the doctrine of the Trinity. This drew the attention of the Socinians. A leader of that sect applauded his labours, and courted his friendship. When his "*sandy foundation*" appeared, the fears of

* Toldervy's book, "*Foot out of the Snare.*" See this curious production in Phil. Library, Miscell. 4to. No. 927. See Besse, Hist. ii. 2, 3, Sewel Hist. i. p. 246. Fox's Great Myst. p. 298, edit. of 1659.

† Fox in vol. i. Jour. gives a detail of instances. Snake in the Grass, edit. 3, p. 104. This author challenged the society to produce a genuine passage from their writings, previous to the year 1660; which speaks with reverence of the Holy Scriptures. No one, so far as I can discover, has ventured to take up the glove.

‡ Dr. Owen on the Trinity, edit. 1798, p. 78.

§ See Crellius "*of the One God*," p. 197, and Penn ii. pp. 109, 110.

‖ See Poet ii. ch. vii. following.

the christian public were confirmed; and its indignation was turned against the Quakers as a Socinian sect. The warmth of their allies was increased; they were preparing the bonds of union. The Quakers and Socinians were about to gird on their armour in the common cause. But Penn was a Mystic; and his system was not yet completed. While confined in the Tower, and awaiting his trial under the charge of blasphemy, he continued to make additions to it. He wrote his "*innocence with open face;*" an apology for the sentiments of his first piece. He avows that "he had not budged one jot," from the opinions of the "sandy foundation." He applauds Socinus, as one who had clearer prospects of the truth than the most of his cotemporaries;* then approaching the point in dispute, he confesses "*the divinity of Christ.*" He admits that there are three in the Godhead. His Socinian allies viewed him with amazement. They accused him of gross contradiction. He denied the persons of the trinity, and yet advocated their divinity. They turned from him with disgust; they refused their fellowship to his sect; but this meagre explanation gained Penn his liberty, and his assertion was true. He had not "*budged one jot.*" That *Christ*, whose divinity he advocates, is their "*light within.*" It is divine, because it is merely God in his enlightening power; and the third, the spirit, is God in another of his functions.†

What inconsistencies are crowded into human character! Penn had, with daring hand, impugned the holiest doctrines of christianity; he had even engrafted on his mystic principles the deism of Lord Herbert.‡ The church, and all good men are in tears. They bewail the impiety of this man; while he, in his cell, under the accusation of blasphemy, consoles himself in his sufferings for Christ; and with great humility, enrols himself in the list of martyrs; *and writes his "no Cross, no Crown!!"* The christian world asks, what is that cross of Penn, without which there is no

* Penn, vol. i. p. 268.

† Compare his "*sandy foundations*" and his "innocency with open face," in vol. i. of his works.

‡ This writer, in his treatise "De Religione Gentilum," lays down five articles, which he supposes to embrace all that is necessary to salvation. He excludes the peculiar doctrines of the bible. His articles are, he says, of universal application. This deism Penn embodies into his system. See his "Christ. Quak." ch. 7, 8, 10, 11.—See Keith's deism of W. Penn, and Vincent's review of the "Sandy Foundation," written by Penn.

crown? It is a cross of suffering, from the indignation of the christian public, levelled against blasphemy of a peculiar and deep aggravation! Yes. Let the christian world remember, that it was in these circumstances, in this medley of impiety and martyrdom, that this book was composed, by this most singular and most deluded man!*

The third period is that of *Barclay.* He appeared at a time when the keenest opposition was carried on against the society. The principles of Penn, which his influence had spread widely in the society, had kindled a furious flame against them in England. Barclay undertakes to give the world the most correct picture of their tenets. He moulded the system of mysticism into a new form; and drawing a veil over the Socinianism of his compatriots, he has compressed over the whole, the prominent features of the Arminian and the Pelagian heresy.†

§ 18. There was a gradual amalgamation of the heterogenous sentiments of these three periods. This process took place under the strong pressure of the public opinion against them; excited and strengthened by very able writers. The society, led on by Penn and Barclay, certainly did recede from the more mystic sentiments of Fox; yet it was a retreat, conducted with the face towards the enemy. This needs little proof. We have only to look into Penn's first works, which appeared about the year 1668, especially his "*sandy foundation,*" and compare them with the wonderful concessions in his pieces, written between the years 1692 and 1698; particularly his "*Key,*" and his "*Reply to the bishop of Cork.*" There is as great a difference between the opinions of these two periods, as there is between the young Penn, the dashing and thoughtless son of admiral Penn, and William Penn, in the full flowing uniform of the society; advancing with cautious steps, and a suspicious eye thrown on all around him, and bowing beneath the storm of public opinion. Barclay's talents, enriched with the knowledge of the Roman fathers, which certainly bear a near affinity to the modifications of Arminius, reformed the Quaker system still more. The authors of the "Brief Apology"‡

* It is obvious that I speak of Penn as a sectarian leader, and a polemic Hadhe confined himself to politics, his fame had been entire.

† See his Theses, and the Prop. of the Apol.

‡ Dublin ed. of 1727.

are even more liberal, and more Pelagian; and S. Fuller has gone as far as any man can venture, in mingling the system of Saccas with that of Pelagius, and of Arminius, to suit the modern taste.*

§ 19. Each of these periods has produced its authors. Each has its partizans. Hence the great diversity of sentiment, even to this day, in the society. We meet with the undefinable dogmata of Fox, the Sabellianism of Penn, the mystico-Arminianism of Barclay. In later times, Job Scott† advances the Sabellianism of Penn. At a still later date, we find the mystico-Sociniano-Arminianism of the society, on the dull pages of Clarkson, and the silly pages of Bristed. Hence the society can, with a clear conscience, adhere to the declaration which they made in the year 1699; "We have not flinched from the tenets of our ancient elders."

§ 20. Under the first of these periods, though not confined to it, appeared those bodily phenomena, which imposed on them the name of *Quakers*. Their speakers "had hideous contortions, and violent motions of their limbs." They whined and hummed their discourses in a confused imitation of singing; and occasionally, with uplifted face, "they bellowed as they'd burst the heavens," and fell down in an ecstacy.‡ These bodily affections are thus described by an eye-witness:—They fell down, they heaved their breasts as if they would burst; they quaked, they foamed at their mouth; they were convulsed as if their limbs would be thrown into pieces."§ Penn accounts thus for these "*holy tremblings*:"—"The Quakers were overtaken by the mighty hand of God; great were their pangs, under the terrors of the Lord."—"Being redeemed through judgment, they became ministers of

* "Serious Reply" to Boyce. Dublin, A. D. 1728.

† 1792. See Rathbone's Narrative, and Job Scott's Journal.

‡ Faldo's Quakerism, &c. p. 11, 12.

§ "*Stablishing against quaking*," published in 1656. See the "Petition of a county against the Quakers," in the "Snake in the Grass," p. 21, No. 1474, duod. Phil. Lib. See Fox's "Saul's Errand to Damascus," p. 5, ancient ed. Warner's Eccles. Hist. ii. p. 581, ed. Lond. 1756, fol. Clarkson and others, in the usual penury of their views, gravely tell us, that the society were called *Quakers*, because Fox called upon the Justice Bennet to tremble at the word of the Lord! On this supposition, Mr. Justice Bennet should have been the *Quaker*.

judgment to others. The terrors of it struck thousands. The devils trembled, and all flesh was as grass;" and—"did not the devils roar and tremble, when about to be cast out by a stronger than themselves."*

Barclay also makes honourable mention of these spasmodic affections. He ascribes them to the violent collisions between "the good seed and the bad seed." When Satan strives to excite the one, and the spirit strives, by a counter influence, to raise the other, the combat is carried on with varied success. The frail vessel which contains the fierce combatants, trembles, and is convulsed; and it is not till after fearful quakings, that the song of victory bursts forth.†

These bodily phenomena are purely Platonic. That ancient sect held, that the soul, in its struggles to ascend to its pure light and intellect, meets with violent opposition from the corrupt matter of the body. "During these struggles, an evil spirit" (Barclay calls it "the *spirit of darkness*"‡) "is insinuated into the place of the Divine. And what will not the soul suffer under the pressure of such an evil?"§ Those theologians, who modelled this Platonic principle into a christian form, made three sorts or degrees of contemplation. The first is purely intellectual; the second is confined exclusively to the affections; the third is a compound of the other two. To the second class, says Hilton,‖ belongs a peculiar "vocal prayer," in which, "a man feeling the grace of devotion, speaks to God, as it were, *bodily* in his presence, with words suiting his inward stirrings." "This is painful to the spirit," says he, "and wasting to the body. For it makes the body move here and there, as if the man were mad or drunk, and could have no rest."¶

On these principles of the Platonics, are engrafted the very

* Faldo wittily remarked, that "people having taken the Quakers to be possessed of the devil, when so behaving, Mr. Penn has here confessed that they are not mistaken; and more than this too, that they themselves are devils. For it was they only that roared." Penn calls this a "*frothy reply*," vol. ii. 322, 334.

† Apology, Prop. xi. sect. 8. ‡ Apol. Prop. x. sect. 7.

§ Synesius, a Platonic Phil. and a prof. Christian. See Taylor's Plat. ii. p. 276.

‖ A Carthusian, in his "scale of perfection," written for the mother of King Henry VII. of England.

¶ See Dr. Wettenhall's "Gifts and Offices, &c." p. 167, No. 1650, duod. Phil. Libr.

opposite practices of two modern sects. The *one* is that of the dancers; whom this principle carried forth into the merriest gestures in devotion. They sung, they danced, they jumped with unparalleled vivacity. They threw the ancient revels of Bacchus completely into the shade. This sect is perpetuated by a sect of dissenting Quakers in the United States. The *other* sect is that of the tremblers. The convulsive agonies in their worship were, in all respects, similar to those of the priestess of Apollo, when thrown from her tripod by the agitations "of the God within;" and to those of the ancient Syrian priests, mentioned in the pages of Apuleius. "They raved and sighed. They drew their breath from their very bowels. At length, they fell down in a phrenetic fit; pretending to be replete with the spirit of the goddess."* The same bodily affections were observed among the Jews at Rome, and other places, in the year 1613.†

The convulsions of Apollo lasted with various fame, during the glory of the Delphic oracle. At last, that spirit left his shrine. The quakings of the Syrian priests also ceased. So these "holy tremblings," which commenced about the year 1650, went on briskly till 1660. These ancient tremblings were completely outdone by them. Those of the priestess could bear no comparison. Here were the spasms of the delicate female. But in the society, not only little children‡ and women, but robust men were thrown into "hideous contortions." In the former case, a solitary person filled the temple of the idol with groans and shrieks. In the latter, prostrate hundreds covered the place, as in a day of slaughter. And if any credit can be given to an author, who was an eye-witness of what he relates, so great was the combat between "the good seed and the bad seed," and so hideous were the groans and the yellings, that in a field adjacent to a meeting, the herds of cattle, and swine, and dogs, ran about as if mad: and each joining in the notes which Nature has given them, they swelled the chorus into something super-human.§ "*Totus autem simul bacchatus est mons.*"

* Boileau's Hist. of the Flagellantes, ch. 6, 86, No. 3117, octavo, Phil. Library.

† By Sir E. Sandy's "View of Relig. in the West," p. 241.

‡ Bar. Apol. Prop. XI. sect. 8, p. 374. And "Snake, &c." p. 24. Fox "Saul's Errand," p. 5. And Besse, vol. ii. p. 2. No. 270, folio, Phil. Libr.

§ "Snake, &c." p. 300, No. 1474, duod. Phil. Library.

But, as in its ancient precedent, this spirit began to evaporate. From the year 1660 it gradually declined; and about 1697, it almost entirely disappeared.*

And in subsequent periods, and even until lately, the preachers had some dregs of this turbulent spirit. They quaked, they shuddered, and heaved up words with hollow groans from the "fund of the soul;" but still they kept on their feet. And in our times, in Philadelphia, there have been specimens of violent shruggings of the shoulders, and brachial twitches, and prodigious wry faces, and thumpings on the pews. These, however, are not so much the effects of the Delphic spirit, as the unnatural efforts of a mind in travail, when it has nothing to bring forth!

"Vixque tenet lacrymas, quia nil lacrymabile cernit."† OVID.

§ 21. During the first period, and also the second, the zeal of their prophets carried them into extravagances of another kind. To give a brilliancy to their denunciations, and to rouse the public attention, they taught by *signs*. Some of them went into churches, during service, clothed in sackcloth, and their hair sprinkled with ashes. Two females entered the protestant church in Dieppe, in France, took their station in a conspicuous place, and turning round in solemn silence to every quarter of the church, exhibited their clothing in sackcloth, and their heads covered with ashes.‡ Barclay, with all his learning and talents, was not a match for the sweeping spirit of fanaticism. This great man actually fell into the rank of the raving fanatics, and marched through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth.§ A female in sackcloth and ashes denounced woes against the wicked town of Kendal.‖ Huntington, robed in a linen sheet, surmounted with a halter, round his neck, instead of a cravat, stood as a spectacle to the gaping audience of Carlisle church.¶ A female in the garb

* Snake, &c. p. 295.

† In the island of Formosa priestesses officiate in the pagan rites of the altar. During their devotional services, they exhibit all the trances, tremblings, and convulsions of ancient Delphi. See Rechteren's Voyage to the E. Indies. Brought. Dict. of all Relig. ii. p. 359.

‡ Sewel, vol. ii. p. 176. They made a pilgrimage from England for this purpose alone.

§ Biog. Brit. art. Barclay, and his Life, p. 25.

‖ Fox, Jour. ii. 65. ¶ Do. i. p. 531.

of sackcloth, and having her streaming hair covered with ashes, passed to the different gates of Bristol; with courage peculiar to prophetesses, she stood during half an hour at the centre of the market place; the graceless mob, however, pelted her, and she retreated.* Anne Wright, having in the same garb made her debut, into St. Patrick's in Dublin, entered on a pilgrimage to London, and went in these weeds through the chief streets, as a sign of approaching judgments.† But to crown the whole, these prophets appeared in public in a state of nudity. During the Commonwealth, and in the reign of Charles II. several individuals of the society went in naked processions through the streets of London.‡ A female came, in a state of perfect nudity, into Whitehall chapel, before the Protector.§ The most distinguished of these *Lupercalian* heroes were Eccles and Simpson. In London the former appeared naked in the fair: and held on in his lectures and denunciations against *folly*, till the loud whips of the coachmen made him seek safety in flight. At another time, he threw a catholic chapel in Ireland, into a scene of confusion. In the midst of mass, this lupercus entered naked from the waist upwards, with a chafing dish on his head, containing coals and burning brimstone; and he cried with a doleful voice, "*wo, wo, to the idols and its worshippers!*"‖ His third fete was performed in a church in London. During divine service he came in stark naked; and raising his arms besmeared with filth, he denounced the woes of heaven on the worshippers.¶ Simpson continued his naked processions, from time to time, during the space of three years!**

The society are not original in any prominent part of their doctrinal or practical system. In this licentious practice they had their precedents. The east had its gumnosophists. Marc Antony, as well as others, acted the lupercus at Rome.†† Greece

* Besse's Suff. of the Quakers, i. p. 41.
† Penn, ii. p. 77, 78, &c. ‡ Fox, Jour. ii. p. 65.
§ Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iv. ch. 3. p. 175. Bost. edit. Mosh. vol. v. cent. 17. Hist. of the Quakers. Sewel has omitted this fact for obvious reasons. I cannot with the Christ. Obser. (vol. xiii. p. 101.) give this up. It is stated by Neal, who was conversant with the men of that period; and though stated publicly by him, it never was questioned till lately, so far as I can discover.
‖ Sewel, ii. 226. ¶ Leslie, Snake, p. 104, or p. 101 ed. 2d.
** Fox's Jour. i. 531. See also Tompkin's Piety Promoted, p. 217. 218
†† Liv. Hist. lib. i. Plutarch in Anton. &c.

had, among her cynics, a Diogenes and a Menedemus;* Bohemia and Germany had their Beghards; France had her Turlepins;† Italy her friar Juniper.‡ All these professed an aversion to the shackles of clothing in their holy processions!

The society have lately told the world, that they have searched, and can find no evidence that any of their females were guilty of these disorders.§ This betrays an inexcusable ignorance of the history and of the sentiments of their fathers. Fox, and Penn, and Sewel, do not only admit the facts, but applaud the acts of these immodest lupercalians.‖

§ 22. Dress.—The society have always shown the greatest anxiety to be plain and simple. In the attainment of this, they changed the ancient names of days and months, as heathenish; though their reforming hands have left words in our language equally heathenish in origin. They changed the familiar mode of speech, which custom, from time immemorial, had sanctioned. They became martyrs and confessors for the honour of the pronouns *thee* and *thou*. Yet, alack! how weak are even martyrs! Though they suffered, even to wounds and blood, for *thee* and *thou* in the singular; they have for more than a hundred years been committing grammatical murder on *the case and person*. They have all along been guilty of saying "how does thee do?" They carried their plainness, in a rigid manner, in ancient times, to their houses and furniture. Some of them, when sending their

* Menedemus made his processions in the street as a fury come fresh from Tartarus, to note down the incorrigibly wicked. W. Anderson's Philosophy of Greece, p. 368, &c. folio.

† Mosh. vol. iii. cent. 13, p. 2, ch. 2.

‡ See Boileau's Hist. of the Flagellantes, ch. 23.

§ In their remarks on Mosheim's History, in an appendix to the American editions of that work, they are careful to say only "*their females*." But the note seems to convey a denial of these naked processions. Mosh. Eccl. Hist. New York edit. vol. iv. p. 287.

‖ These extravagances should not have been noticed, had they not grown out of their principles, and been advocated by their writers. See Fox's Jour. vol. i. pp. 208, 499, 531; ii. p. 65, 79. Sewel, ii. p. 226. See article *Signs*, in their respective indices. Penn, ii. p. 80, 836, and particularly the eighth chapter of his "*Serious Apology*." Works, vol. ii. "For his saying that some of our women went naked, 'tis affirmed "with lightness; *tho' some few of our Friends went naked for a sign*," &c. Penn then proceeds to a *godly* comment on the scandalous practice. See also Farnsworth's defence of these luperci, in his "*Pure Language of the Spirit*," printed A. D. 1656.

effusions from the press, would not permit a proud capital letter to stand in any of their modest pages. And one removed from his fire side the luxury of tongs, and substituted the primitive implement of a cloven stick!* But the pride of plainness distinguishes the society from all other sects, in their dress. They wear the broad brim,† the flowing coat and breeches. The oral law respecting the make of the hat and the coat, has been like the laws of the Medes and Persians; or the laws of China when they received the signature of the red pencil. But, as to the make of the last article, I mean the small clothes, I cannot find that it is *a sine qua non*—that it should exactly resemble the mode of that on the fine statue of Penn, in the hospital yard of Philadelphia. This has got a convenience, or else a singular decoration in front; the absence of which, in the moderns, records, with melancholy evidence, how much they have degenerated from that great leader of the ton. According to the oral canons, which fix and regulate their costume, the most orthodox colour is drab; sober gray and brown, are tolerated. Black is, for obvious reasons, absolutely heterodox. For red, the use of it is prohibited, and even proscribed by the oral law, in terms approaching the rigour of the law of Menù, who prohibits the Brahmins of India from even trafficking in red garments.‡ The gay Quakers, however, it must be observed, use nearly as much freedom with the oral canons of the society, on this article, as many of the clergy do with the canons of the church, in a better cause. They make them suit their own way of thinking.

It has been justly observed, that there is little profit in disputing about matters of taste. Each nation has its own customs and

* Sewel, vol. i. p. 242.

† The broad brim has exercised the wit of poets and actors:

"*With broad brims sometimes like umbrellas.*"—Hudibras.

The profane wit, Nokes, appeared on the stage under a tremendous hat. But this was only as the first fruits to the harvest. Dryden brought one of his personages forward, under a hat made after the dimensions of the hind wheel of a carriage. See Dunscomb's Antiq. of Hereford Edit. of 1804. But the irresistible courage, and imperturbable gravity of the society, in defence of the broad brim, have secured them the peaceable and triumphant possession of it.

‡ Sir William Jones's Disc. on the Relation of the Chinese to the Hindus; and Life, p. 393.

standard of propriety. Which of us would pretend to refute the arguments of a Turk in defence of his beard or his turban? So tenacious is the Chinese of his customs, that solemn embassies have been refused an audience, because the haughty European would not prostrate himself, or beat his forehead, a given number of times on the floor, before the presence! We cannot refute feelings or taste. Were it not even folly to persuade the society, that the broad brim should give way to the narrow brim? They could tell you, that the Chinese wear brims even broader than theirs. That blue or black is a finer colour than drab? They could quote against us the custom of the Asiatic nations, where light colours prevail. That they should banish the flowing skirts? The flowing robes of the east, where they derived their opinions, are clearly in their favour. That modern manners make it a mark of respect to uncover the head in the presence of a superior? They could tell you, that the orientals do not uncover their heads: "that the Jews at Rome, and the west, do not stir their bonnets "in their synagogues to any man, but remain still covered."* And if this were too modern to render it venerable authority, they could call in, to their aid, the ancient Romans, who certainly remained covered in their temples, when they drew near the shrine of their idols. And what is more, they have the authority of Tacitus and of Plutarch, to prove that it was an especial privilege of the priesthood among the heathens, in their public intercourse, and in their solemn services, while others were uncovered, never to lay aside their hats.†

It is very certain, therefore, that many customs prevail among us, for which we cannot produce such *ancient* and *classic* authority. However, there is, unhappily for them, one circumstance which operates rather against their system. The common feelings and sense of the west are clearly against them. Their attempts to bring in upon us the customs of the east, and its fashions in dress, are about as anomalous and extraordinary, as would be the zeal of a Turk, to induce the citizens of Constantinople to ex

* Sir E. Sandy's View of Religion in the west. Anno. 1613 p. 242.

† "Nunquam pileum deponebant." Baronius de Donat. Constant. and Valer. Max. i. 1 and 4.

change their pantaloons for the Quaker breeches, and yield up the red turban to the broad brim of black beaver!

The charge of affectation, in ushering in singular customs and forms of dress under covert of religion, has not been the severest trial to which the faith of the Friends was subjected in older times. No small portion of their bodily sufferings was originated by their zealous adherence to an item of their religious ceremonies connected with their dress. It was a part of their ancient religious ceremonies, not to uncover the head to a mortal man. Hence their conscientious and most scrupulous refusal to uncover their heads before magistrates and courts of justice. They resisted the order from the bench to uncover, as an insult to their religious creed; as a wound inflicted on a tender part of their conscience. Hence they would not be driven from their faith and practice in this particular, by bonds and imprisonments. They would sooner have consented to lose their heads than to uncover them!*

But the society has derived benefits from the peculiarity of their dress, sufficient to out balance the pains of martyrdom for it. The circumstance, trivial as it may appear to the most of christians, who devote their time rather to the cultivation of mind, than to the arrangements of distinctive dress, has been one strongly operating cause of fixing the public character of this sect.

By the colour and shape of their vestments, they proclaim their religion more loudly than by the trumpet of the Pharisee. They exhibit their confession of faith, in their front and in their rear. In the cut and colour of the coat, they carry their religious dogmata into the street, and into the counting house. They hold them up to every eye, and tell them in every ear. They invite, they challenge a rigid scrutiny; and the world does fix a keen and scrutinizing eye on them. It searches out, with an

* See an account of the *tragic farce* of Penn and Mead, respecting the duties of the hat, before a very tyrannical court. Penn's works, vol. i. ad nitium: and Sewel, vol. ii. p. 244. The late king, George III. when he gave audience to the Friends, took care to save their honour, and spare his own feelings, by stationing an extra groom of the chamber at the door of the levee, whose duty it was to take off each of their beavers as they approached the presence.—*Clarkson.*

eagle-eye, the spots on their consecrated garments. This produces a deep and permanent effect on their members. It operates on a well known principle of human nature. The deportment of the student arranged in his well known garb and badge, and of the soldier when bearing the uniform and arms of his country, when among strangers, is rigid and virtuous; while the eye of the public is intensely fixed on them. And it gradually relaxes, as the public notice withdraws its virtuous stimulant. And it frequently becomes dissipated as they merge in the crowd of common dress, and ordinary men. Every member, conscious that he has made his challenge on the public attention, and conscious that he is, according to the tenor of this challenge, constantly watched, is on his guard. He is always in an attitude of defence. Hence a strict eye on each other's deportment, as well as their own, that the common enemy may not find wherewith to reproach the faith. Hence their coldness and distrust, and distance, and jealousy in the presence of strangers. Hence the indirect and ambiguous style in conversation. Hence the sly and cautious manner, bordering on cunning, which have marked their *public* character in all countries; especially, where their numbers are small.* And hence, as the result, under all the feelings of the pride of party, ingeniously created and kept alive by the shibboleth of speech and fraternal livery, they keep themselves fairly separated from the whole world; and strongly, of course, devoted to their own sect.

The singularity of their dress operates another way. The Friends have been long known by the appellation of good moralists. Nay, if the good Clarkson be correct, they monopolize all morality. Their dress and manners bring them forth from the retired walk, in which other christians are seen to pursue the journey of life. Hence, they are presented before the public eye in contrast, not with the religious world, who, by their

* The character of the German and Scottish Quaker, is very different from the Philadelphian Quaker. The latter feeling his power, and trusting to the number of his auxiliaries, lets down much of the stern manners of olden times. The former, especially the Scotch Quaker, who stands almost single handed, in a country where metaphysics drive fanaticism over its southern border, has retained the ancient public character most strongly marked.

dress, are merged in the common crowd, but with the whole mass of civil society. And as the principles, and the morals of the great mass of mankind, bear little of the impress of christianity, and much of moral pollution, the society, in the result of the comparison, has stood high in morals with the superficial observer.

Those founders of new sects* were unquestionably shrewd observers of human nature; who, in devising auxiliaries to strengthen their society, and to attach, more closely, their proselytes to their systems, have called into their aid, principles that operate on the propensities and vanity of the human mind. What Mohammed effected by the trivial rites of ablutions of water, or sand, and by prostrations toward Mecca, and by pilgrimages; that Eustathius did; and that Fox and Penn did, in their way, by a distinctive dress, and speech, and manners. They aspired to the same lofty origin, the special *command of heaven*. They had the same object in view. It is certain they do have the same tendency. The devout Arab performs his ablutions, and prostrates himself toward Mecca; and rises with unmeasurable feelings of pride in his sect; and damns the whole of the human family who are not moslem. The pious Friend looks at the dress and speech of his sect, unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and separates himself from every other sect in the christian world; and throws barriers in the way of communion with them, never to be removed by him.

§ 23. On oaths.—The society is distinguished from other christians by their rejection of oaths. The members of the Reformed churches when called to give testimony, swear, with uplifted hand, by the name of God. They are guided in this by the highest authority. "Thou shalt swear by his name."† This is a section of the moral law. For there are three duties of moral and perpetual obligations set down by it in the same verse. "Thou shalt fear the Lord, and serve him: and cleave unto him,

* Fox and Penn were not the first who made a distinctive dress a necessary part of their creed. Among others, I find Eustathius of Sebastia, the leader of a sect, who clothed himself and his followers in a new and fantastic dress. Socrat Hist. lib. iii. cap. 3. See also in Niceph. Cal. Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 796, folio.

† Deut. x. 20.

"and swear by his name." The patriarchs gave their practical exposition of this law by their use of oaths.* It was foretold by an ancient prophet, that the faithful should, in the new testament church, "swear by the name of the Lord."† We have the highest examples set before us. Almighty God sware by himself. An "angel raised his hand and sware by him that liveth for ever."‡ Paul used this form in writings dictated by the Holy Ghost; "I take God to record on my soul."§ An oath is of essential importance. In the most interesting cases, both civil and criminal, it is the only means by which truth can be drawn out. And in every case that comes before a court, it goes farther than any other means to separate truth from falsehood, and educe evidence.

Nor are we dragged to an oath with reluctance. The christian considers it as a solemn act of worship. In an oath, which we approach with deep solemnity and reverence, we offer homage to the divine omniscience, and power, and justice. In fine, we lay these two precepts together, and act on the necessary conclusion drawn out of them. "An oath of the Lord shall be "between them both that he hath not, &c." "For men verily "swear by the greater; and an oath for confirmation's sake is "an end of all strife."‖ The first of these texts puts a case of necessity. The last recognizes "an oath" as a well known duty. And it states by divine authority, the beneficial influence of an oath on civil society.

The prohibition of our Lord, and that of James, "swear not "at all, neither by heaven, nor by the earth," is considered by some as a serious objection. Nay, it is supposed to amount to a positive repeal of oaths. It certainly does not. It is an emphatic exposition of the third precept of the law: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." It prohibits all profane oaths in conversation, and all oaths made by other objects than God.¶ And, finally, we put this question with emphasis: Does

* Gen. xiv. 22.—Josh. xiv. 9.—1 Sam. xx. 3.—2 Kings, ii. 2.
† Isaiah, xix. 18. and lx 16.
‡ Heb. vi. 13.—Revel. x. 5, 6.
§ 1 Corinth. i. 23.
‖ Exod. xxii. 11.—Heb. vi. 16.
¶ See Ber. de Moor. perpet. Com. in Markii. Comp. vol. v. cap. 12. sect. 12.

the prohibition of an abuse of a law, abrogate that law? Must we refuse obedience to the command, "thou shalt serve the Lord," because others abuse their mercies, and act the part of rebels? Must we refuse to "swear by the Lord our God," because some do swear profanely, and because that profaneness is forbidden? If we act on this principle of extermination, we shall soon annihilate the authority of all laws, civil and divine.

These arguments have no weight with the society. They denounce all oaths. They simply affirm.* The ancient Friends bequeathed them this antipathy, which was handed down to them from their ancestors. From the time of queen Elizabeth, great cruelty had been exercised under the arbitrary measures of the bishops. In trials they were authorized to tender oaths, *ex officio*, to the suspected persons. This tyrannical procedure was warmly opposed: the citizens and puritan ministers opposed these oaths from the press and from the pulpit. Much was written against them during this and the succeeding reigns. The people, as might naturally have been expected, gradually transferred the arguments from particulars to generals; they argued against all kinds of oaths. By the time the arguments reached the hands of the Friends, (such is the propensity to generalize on almost every theory) they were not allowed to except even the oath authorized by divine authority: "*the oath for confirmation's sake* "*which is an end of all strife.*" To support this novel doctrine, they dragged in our Saviour's prohibition of profane oaths.† Some enlarged their proof by appealing to Plato, who advocates "*a life beyond an oath.*"‡ And they ought to have added, that it was the peculiar prerogative of the priests, among the pagans, to

* The primitive Quakers admitted the substance of an oath. See the Quaker's Dialogue with Charles II. Sewel, vol. i. p. 435. Penn's Oath, vol. ii. p 74.—Burroughs, p. 622.

† Matth. v. 34. James v. 12. "Swear not ὁλως, *omnino*, at all, or by any means. It is an adverb of *confirming*," says Schleusner, not of *extent*. That is, let nothing induce you to swear. What? namely, those oaths of which he is speaking; "by heaven, by the earth." Oaths to which the politest pagans were excessively prone in conversation, and in their gravest writings.

‡ Penn. ii. 513. who quotes Val. Maxim. 2. 10. and also Cicero pro Bal. Laert.

be exempted from an oath.* They had the management of the divine things: they had free access to the holy inspirations of the gods: a distrust of their word was inadmissible: they were, therefore, allowed a simple affirmation.

It is certain, that Penn has grafted his doctrine of immunity from oaths, on the principle of Plato, to which I have referred above. Plato's "*life beyond an oath*," was a life spent under the entire guidance of the light excited in its pure flame by the cathartic virtues. The man being perfect, could not lie. An oath was unnecessary. Penn models the argument thus:† the light, or Christ, is come: he came to put an end to sin; he is in them; he has put an end to sin in them; they are perfect. In perfection there is no room for "distrust of honesty." Hence, they cannot swear. To urge an oath on them, is to question the fact of their perfection; and to insinuate that they are weak sinners like others. I will not conceal, however, that a German divine, quoted by a writer of the society,‡ is at perfect antipodes with Penn, on this article. "*Those heretics*," says he, "*who will not* "*swear, are like the devil. He is not known to have ever used an oath.*" And he never will. Swearing to the truth is a solemn public act of homage to Almighty God.

§ 24.—On war. On the subject of offensive war, there is only one opinion among christians. It cannot be advocated on christian principles; it exhibits on a wide field what the robber and the assassin does on a limited scale. Their moral turpitude is the same. There is only this difference, that the atrocities of war are aggravated in the ratio of the violence, murders, and rapines which follow in its train. No christian, nor even pagan, can pretend to justify offensive war. But the Society, through an excess of zeal, proceed to the extremity of advocating non-resistance. Defensive war is, in their opinion, in all cases unlawful.

All that the society has advanced on this topic, hardly amounts

* Plutarch quoted by Baronius, (De Donatione Constantini Magni.) Anno. 324 num 79, and Durham on Revel. vol. ii p. 425.

† Vol. ii. 130, 488, 489, 796. and Bar prop. on this article.

‡ Stubbs, p. 167. of "Light shining," &c.

to elegant declamation: and whatever force it has, it operates only on one branch of the subject, and wholly in favour of our opinion. War is cruel: it is horrible. Man warring against man exhibits a brutal ferocity: the deeds are disgraceful even to the savage: they outstrip the ferocious deeds of the lions of the forest. These offer no violence to their own species. But the greatest enemy of mankind is man. What a spectacle of horror is presented on a field of battle, and in the sacking of a city! What feeling heart does not shudder at it! What man of principle does not abhor it! Can a christian advocate war which fills the world with so much misery! All this is very true; and every sentiment is clearly supported by the passages of holy writ usually quoted for authority.* But it is not in point; it does not touch the question under discussion. It is merely a declamation against *offensive war;* and those demons in human form who bring it. The guilt of this must certainly rest somewhere. It cannot rest on those who ward off the execrable evil from their own heads and the heads of those under their protection. It must rest only on those who bring the war.

While, therefore, I am willing to go all the length of the society, in denouncing offensive war, I ask them, in return, to follow me in the arguments in favour of defensive war.

The Almighty has written a law on our hearts, which impels us to self-defence. This is something distinct from the spirit of revenge, or a criminal indulgence of the passions. It is a universal principle; it cannot be eradicated from the bosom, until reason and judgment be hurled from their seat, and their influence over us is lost. To oppose defensive measures, is to oppose a law of our nature, impressed on every heart by the hand of Omnipotence.

The precept that determines the *morality* of an action, is unchangeable as the throne of Deity, whence it comes. If, by a divine command, war was made lawful four thousand years ago, it must be lawful now. Who gave the command to Moses to fight against Amalek, when he brought war against his people?†

* James iv. 1, &c.

† Exod. xvii. 16. It cannot be pretended that this is a part of the *ceremonial* law.

Who was the "captain of the Lord's host," under whom Joshua carried on war in Canaan, against the nations who had rebelled against God? Are we prepared to accuse a prophet of the Lord, who, under divine inspiration, roused his country's arms against the encroaching foe?*

If the law of God has declared that the man "*who provides not for his own house, has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel,*" what, according to that law, must be the aggravation of that man's guilt, who, on the theory of non-resistance, declares that he will not defend the property of his family from the robber, nor their lives from the violence of the murderer? Something greatly worse than infidel!

Are we prepared to say that the arts of the King of Zion need our apology? He has fought; he does fight; and he will fight, at the head of his angels, against the assaults of the dragon who dares to invade his church, and to carry violence into his sanctuary.†

Defensive war began in heaven. When Satan and his angels rebelled, the Almighty vindicated his honour, and supported his government. He hurled the rebels from the battlements of heaven, and he retains them in chains of darkness. During six thousand years, he has been defending his church against the assaults of hell. Such high authority have we for defensive war. But on the principle of non-resistance, Satan would still have been in heaven!

The principle of non-resistance, taken in a political view, has a dangerous tendency. Laws are necessary not only to the well being, but the very existence of a state. A penalty is essentially necessary to a law. Remove the penalty, and the law sinks into the ineffective form of a petition. A penalty ought to be of sufficient weight: the evil falling on the head of the offender, should be greater than the good which he could promise to himself from

* Jerem. xlviii. 10. Serious discussions have taken place on these historical and doctrinal passages of the Holy Scriptures, among the leading Friends, particularly in Ireland; and the opinion openly avowed that they ought to be expunged. See a specimen of these discussions in Rathbone's Narrative, p. 50, 53.—and his appendix, No. 2.

† Rev. xii. 7.

the breach of the law. If this be not so, then temptation is held out to crime; the infliction of the penalty ought to be imperious and rigid. If it does appear that the magistrate is not invested with sufficient power, or that there is a possibility of the penalty being set aside, a high temptation is held out to crime: hence the magistracy must have every facility of executing the law, and enforcing the penalty; and, hence, they must be supported by the arm of power against any combination of criminals. If they are not, what security have we for life, liberty or property? The principle of non-resistance denies to the magistrate all the means of compulsion: it denies him guards; it denies him weapons; it bids him go on in the execution of the laws; but he must go on *peaceably*. Well! but what if the criminals may not permit him to go on *peaceably?* What if they combine and resist? They tear themselves from the grasp of those who would *lecture* them into obedience; and who are beseeching them to be so good as to submit to the sentence of the law. They arm themselves; they offer violence; a whole neighbourhood of Quakers is brought in; the question is emphatically put to them: you see the tumult; what must be done? The criminals are violent; they are deaf to all reason or persuasion. Must the laws be insulted? must the bench retreat? must the court be dispersed? must the citizens perish by the weapons in the hands of these unprincipled men? Yes! say the stern advocates of non-resistance; all this must be: we will not try to prevent it. Nothing then can save the state from ruin, unless one of two things shall take place. Either the criminals being struck with pity, will throw down their arms, set up the court, recall the judges, and with a sudden docility of manners, bow down and receive the sentence of the law, from pure love of good order, or the judge, accompanied by the proper officers, will arm his guards, and reduce the criminals to obedience.

Such is the dangerous tendency of this tenet of the society, in a political view. It tends directly to produce anarchy and ruin; but Holy Providence seldom permits an error to creep into the world, without sending after it some powerful guardian of truth, to paralyze its arm, or to check its influence; or he leaves it to its native violence, to bend its bow till it breaks. And thus

the intended victim escapes. This is emphatically the case with this principle; its destructive tendency is so glaring, that it has utterly defeated itself; it is incapable of any general practical application. Hence, even the society cannot act on it, but in so partial a manner, that they cannot be said to adhere to their theory. They do admit of laws and penalties; they do admit of magistrates, and sentences, and punishments; they do admit of chains and dungeons; they do admit of force and arms in our state prisons.

"*But if our principles of non-resistance were known, we should not be attacked.*" This advances the extravagant idea, that the murderer will not injure the good man, nor the weak; nor him who has no intention of defending himself: that he will attack only the brave and the fighting man. "*But Holy Providence interferes, in a special manner, in our behalf;* and *wards off the violence of the wicked.*" Providence brings to pass his purposes by means; to expect them without the use of means, is to expect miracles when there is no necessity for them. Besides, if it be wrong for a Quaker to defend himself, *how can he justify Providence in defending him from violent men?* But no Quaker ever acted on this principle; and we will pledge that law, which God has written on his heart, as the guarantee that he never will risk his life or his gold in support of it; he will act as the English Quaker did when assaulted by a robber. The man of non-resistance caught him in his brawny arms, and thus harangued him; and closed the farce by a tragedy: "I will not offer violence to thy body; nor will I shed thy blood: but *I will hold thee in this pond*, until thee shall be incapable of doing any violence to an innocent man!"

The principle of non-resistance has a dangerous moral tendency. It has, indeed, the aspect of virtue, and of abhorrence of all violence; and it is a holy principle, so far as it is applied to *offensive* war. But try it, on the true question of *defensive* war; bring the arguments and declamation of the society to bear upon those who defend their lives, liberty and property. It contradicts the common sense of mankind; it resists the impulse of the first law of our nature; it contradicts the holy laws of morality; it pleads that violence may not be repelled; it pleads for the removal of

every barrier before the march of crime, when it appears in a formidable array of armed men; it pleads for a license to them to go the full length of their violence. If the robber assail you; if the assassin break into your chamber, the weapons of self-defence must be wrested out of your hands; you must not strike the arm that is raised to lay your wife and your infants bleeding carcases beside your own! If a foreign enemy pour its legions on your shores to rob you of your country, your liberty, and all that is dear to man, you must not fight. If entreaties fail, you must surrender all into their hands.

"*But this could not take place, if all men would embrace their principles.*" This is no argument; if you think so, do not trouble the world with a wild impracticable theory. If a principle is brought forward, which professes to meliorate the condition of man, it ought not to rest on a Utopian base. It ought not to be contrived to suit man in Paradise; it ought to assume the fact, *that man is what he is.* But, until the species be regenerated, there will be violent men: there will be robbers: there will be murderers: there will be unprincipled statesmen at the helm of government. It is of little use to tell them, that *they ought to be good men;* and to have better principles. It is silly to argue, that because there *ought* to be no violent and unjust men, therefore, there *ought to be no defensive war.* It is a miserable sophism. You tell us there *ought* to be no violence and injustice; there *ought* to be no cause for self-defence; and because there *ought* to be none, therefore, *there is no cause for self-defence.* This is the total amount of the argument against defensive war. Now, if we take human nature as it is; if we admit the fact, that there will be violent men, whose vicious propensities will hurry them into violence; and if, with these facts before our eyes, we do advocate the principle of non-resistance, we are advocating a principle of *immoral and dangerous* tendency. We are saying to the robber, we will not set bounds to your crimes; to the murderer, you may take away the lives of many with impunity; to the unprincipled statesman, you may trample on our national rights, and take away our liberty; we shall not defend them. This is not merely saying, let the world be as wicked as it may be, I will not use my influence to

diminish one crime. It says, let it become as wicked as the most abandoned men can make it, I shall not throw up one barrier to impede the march of crime. If every good man were to act on this principle of non-resistance, moral pollution would speedily be increased a thousand fold: if a nation were to adopt it unanimously, the consequences would be dreadful. Human nature is depraved in all nations; wars will come; the age of miracles is past; Providence does work by means. If that nation did not defend itself, it would soon exhibit a scene fit for the most tragic muse; fire would lay waste its cities and towns, and hamlets; lawless brigands would bring on our families ruin worse than death; the sword would sweep her population into the grave, or into slavery! Such is the tendency of this pretty, but romantic, theory of non-resistance!*

But the society did not arrive, all at once, at this singular item in their system. Extraordinary as it may appear, I mean to the modern Quakers, it is a fact, that from the rise of the society, to the year 1660, the Friends *did advocate war, and many of them were in the army.* The pages of Burroughs and of Fox, even after the licentious liberties of modern editors in altering and expunging passages, do still afford us proof. The former exhorted the Protector to war against the Pope. "Let thy soldiers go forth with a willing heart."† The same war spirit is breathed in his address to the English army at Dunkirk.‡ Fox wrote an "*address to the council of officers.*" He tells them what they might have done, had they been faithful. They might have taken Rome, and put down the Pope: they might next have subdued the Turks, and put down Mahomet. He then laments, that many excellent officers and soldiers were thrust out of the army by the Protec-

* The practice of the society has often done violence to their own theory. The laws demand, that we defend our country; or pay, to aid in this great object. The Quakers refuse to pay this militia fine or tax. They resist the law even to bodily pains. It does seem very absurd, to say that they practise *non-resistance.* They *resist* to support the doctrine of *non-resistance.*

† "Good counsel rejected," p. 26, 27, 36, 37. and Quak. Unmasked, p. 4.

‡ See Burroughs' Works; fol. p. 535, 540. and "Snake," &c. Edit. 2. p. 229, &c.

tor, merely for using "*thou and thee*," and for wearing their *hats*.* And in another place, he speaks of "*the righteous end of the war, for liberty and law*."† To these, we may add the names of Penn and his kinsman, the amiable Pennington; they certainly were not decidedly opposed to defensive war.‡ Penn reaped a goodly harvest from his father's military and naval glory. If he had been, in principle, decidedly opposed to war, his conscience must have been ill at ease from the reflection, that all his wealth and luxuries were the purchase of military services. But his conscience was at ease; he approved of his father's deeds, he defended his office and station; he did approve of defensive war in the following words: "he was employed," says he, respecting his father, admiral Penn, "he was employed in the preservation of the country from the rapes and spoils of foreigners."§

But after the restoration, when they could no longer indulge the hope of the downfall of Episcopacy, they shielded themselves behind the principle of non-resistance. And, as a society, they have advocated it to this day.

But there have been some collisions between their theory and their practice. When Philadelphia was young, the magistracy was entirely in the hands of the Friends; its port could boast of only one sloop. A band of pirates coming up the river, carried off the sloop. What did the society do? The faith and constancy of the London Quakers, never met with such a trial. It is an easy matter to be virtuous where there are no temptations. Did the society become confessors and martyrs to their principle? Verily, no! Their magistracy issued commissions; they raised an armed band; they retook their sloop, and made the banditti prisoners. It is curious, to see how the historians of the society, wriggle and twist, under the difficult digestion of this morsel of their history. They admit the fact, that the sloop was forcibly

* See p. 5, 6. anct. edit. See also Bugg's Pict. p. 50. Snake in the Grass, p. 210. and edit. 2. p. 207 and 208.

† Fox's West answering the North, p. 16. and 102. and Snake, &c. p. 221. and edit. 2. p. 218.

‡ Penn, vol. i. p. 146. and Pennington, vol. i. 227. His "Address to the Army." See Penn's *Project for securing the peace of Europe:* He admits the retaining of "*forces*," &c. Sect. 4, 5, 9, in vol. ii. p. 841, 842.

§ Vol. ii. p. 451.

taken away, and that it was recovered. But they pretend that no arms were used; that there was no fighting.* This contradicts the account given by men of probity, and who had access to know all the truth.† And besides, it is highly improbable. Can any man believe, that a strong banditti, who had possession of the sloop in the river, would be moved by the sight of their pursuers, to sit down and hear a Quaker sermon; and that they would be instantaneously moved to grant their petitions, to restore them the sloop, and submit their necks, like good hearted citizens, to the sentence of the law? Pirates never possessed such sensibility, nor such disinterested love of good order!‡

The government of Pennsylvania had, by an act of William and Mary, been taken out of the hands of Penn. It was, on his petition, restored to him, on certain conditions. These were, that he should secure and defend the place: that he should send 80 soldiers to Albany, when called for, to aid in the war against the Indians: or find money to pay that number. To these conditions he acceded.§ In A. D. 1701, Penn, in his speech to the assembly of this state, exhorts them to take measures for their defence. He laid before them the king's letter, demanding money to aid in carrying on the war against the Indians of New York. Penn recommended that the sum be granted by the assembly.‖

In the year 1764, when the affairs of the *Paxton volunteers* agitated the public mind, the Quakers of Philadelphia manifested this spirit of Penn. They opposed the measures of those who wished to treat with the "Paxton boys." They urged, "that they had force sufficient to repel them, or even to kill them."¶

* Gough. iii. p. 341.

† See Keith's Appeal, and the Reply of the Society. See also the "Snake," edit. 2. and p. 201.

‡ See another case: the recovery of a ship, commanded by a Quaker, from the Turks. Sewel, vol. ii. book vii. pp. 74, 80.

§ See the letter from Philadelphia, dated 1695, published in London while Penn was there. Leslie in the "Snake," &c. appeals to it. p. 241, or p. 237. edit. 2.

‖ Vol. i. p. 146, &c.

¶ See "The Quaker Unmasked," p. 7. no. 1007. Quod. Tract. 7. Philad. Library, and a book called "a Trumpet Sounded out of the Wilderness of America." See a MS. in Philad. Libr. no. 1413, vol. i. quarto. p. 23. Y.

Their warlike preparations, which are remembered in this city to this day, and which I have heard detailed by the most respectable citizens, evinced a determination to carry their purposes into effect. But the favourable issue of a treaty, prevented the Quakers from resisting and killing these hot headed volunteers. And in different periods, those members of the society who were chosen representatives in the state legislature, or in congress, have, at the call of their country, voted for war measures.*

In fine, only one thing has saved the existence of the society. They have had their brave fellow-citizens to fight in their defence. And one thing has saved the existence of this article of their faith. The government of Pennsylvania was taken out of their hands. Had they possessed the chair of state, and the offices of the magistracy in that great commonwealth, there would not have been, this day, a Quaker who would advocate the principle of non-resistance. They would either have surrendered the state to an invading enemy, or have advocated, by martial deeds, the lawfulness of defensive war. Thus the society owe their existence, political, to the advocates of defensive war. But for them, as Voltaire said, "*they had been devoured and annihilated.*"

§ 25. The Friends have been a divided people. The fanaticism of Milner, Naylor, and Toldervy created serious troubles. Those Liberales, who, pursuing exclusively the dictates of "the spirit," undervalued the Holy Bible, created still more. These arose, by fair consequence, out of the principles of the society. The fanatics only reduced into practice, by a daring hand, what the society held in theory about a real Christ in every man. The establishment of their discipline produced a schism, which, as far as I can trace in their history, is perpetuated to this day.† Fox

* In 1674, see "Quaker Unmasked," p. 9. and in 1815, the member from Germantown voted for the war measures. These may have been expelled. But this shows what their wise men will do, when brought into collision with their duty as citizens. In A. D. 1741, Samuel Chew, a Quaker, advocated, from the bench, the doctrine of self-defence. See a curious MS. no. 1413, in the Philad. Libr. p. 2. 3. W. volume i. quarto. See his defence also in Pennsyl. Gazet. no. 690.

† See Rathbone's Narrative.

instituted their form of ecclesiastical government, not under authority derived from the Holy Scriptures, but "by the counsel and power of God;"* and the yearly meeting of Ireland, so late as A. D. 1802, recognized this divine right of their government.† The party who opposed Fox insisted that they had, in common with their brethren, the infallible guide in their bosom; and they could not be subjected to any discipline. The Foxites insisted, on the other hand, that the spirit in the individual ought to submit *to the spirit and universal wisdom of the society*:‡ the other party replied, "you tell us that services done without the motion of the spirit are accursed; and you condemn us when we have not only no motion for this, but a positive impulse of the spirit against it."§ The female meetings for discipline were another source of bitter contention.‖ A strong party opposed them as utterly impertinent. They denounced, in strong terms, the innovation of petticoat church government and female popes: they were formally excommunicated, and in their turn they undauntingly hurled their anathema at the heads of their opposers: they mutually employed the most abusive terms:¶ "they were impostors and demons." "It was Judas and the Jews against Christ:" and as a witty author,** a cotemporary, remarked, "both parties being persons of honour, we ought to believe both."

A. D. 1661.—A violent dissention arose in the society respecting the orthodox use of the *hat*. Every Quaker must have heard of Muckalow and his book "*the spirit of the hat*." It appeared in defence of sitting covered in time of prayer: for why not then as well as during the other parts of worship! Penn entered the lists against this hero of the hat; he reminded him that he had once approved of the custom of the society, and had tasted "*comfort from prayers that came through an uncovered head*:" and forthwith denounced him as convicted of heretical pravity.†† The party who were drawn up under the banner of "*the spirit of the hat*," issued their manifesto that "what they did was by immediate inspiration."

* Jour. ii. p. 85, 215, &c. † Rath. Nar. p. 12.
‡ See the Quaker "Barbadoes Judgment," quoted in "Snake in the Grass," p. 68, edit. 3.
§ Penn ii. p. 539, and Hick's Repl. Dial. p. 64.
‖ A. D. 1677. ¶ Penn ii. 189, 199 and 774. ** Leslie.
†† Penn's "Spirit of Alex. the Coppersmith, &c."

Perot, the leader of the van, "had received a command from the Lord of heaven and earth to war against——taking off the hat;" and in opposing him, therefore, they were opposing the spirit. Penn and his party replied that "the Lord had given to the church" (he meant the great body of the Friends,) an infallible spirit to discern spirits; and as they had discerned and judged them, they had justly cast them out. To this, they replied, that "as the light within was the perfect and sufficient guide to each; as Penn made the body of the society to bear sway over the light in each; therefore, not the *light within* but the *body* was become the Quaker's rule." How was such a dispute to be settled? Each of the parties was equally inspired; each professed to be the favourite of heaven. "*Hic labor, hoc opus est.*" A grand meeting was summoned. "Prayers were made with weighty groans and tremblings, that the Lord would break forth among them, in a signal manner." In all ordinary cases, the rule of Horace would have been religiously acted upon. "*Ne Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus.*" But here were two inspired bodies vehemently contending—whether the *hat should be put off*, or whether the *hat should be put on*, during prayers. Their cries were heard; their spirit interfered; "he rent through the meeting;" both sides were greatly humbled; "and many with such bodily tremblings, as (it may well be credited) filled the beholders with astonishment, declared from the mouth of the Lord against the 'spirit of the hat.'" Penn and his party prevailed, and a decree was issued in the following words: "*It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, in the performance of solemn public prayer to the Lord, to pull off our hats,*" *&c.:* and as this practice is dedicated to divine service, it must not be prostituted to human uses.

> "Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
> "Parturiunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus!"* Hor.

These disputes issued in a rupture. Hence the two rival so-

* See Rich's "Epist. to the seven churches, A. D. 1680." Bugg's Pict. of Quakerism, p. 263. Sixty-seven country Quakers were pitted against sixty-six Quakers of London. See also Penn ii. 189, 207, 208, 209, and 774, edit. fol. 1726. "Snake," p. 71, ed. 2.—and "the Spirit of the Hat," p. 11—and its "Defence." The decree was issued in the words of Penn above recited. See vol. ii. p. 207 of his works, folio.

cieties of Harplane and Grace-street church in London. In the progress of these contentions, a party arose, who carried the principles of *one* of these sects into their full length. The one had reasoned that as each had his *Christ* in him, there was no need for discipline: the new sect argued that on the same principle there can be no real necessity for meetings for worship. We have the perfect rule in us; why should we meet in public, to give or to receive instruction from any man? Shackleton and his adherents in Ireland, have lately revived this idea, and have created serious troubles in the body in that country.*

Near the close of the 17th century, the Keithian controversy arose: it affected one of the most important doctrines of christianity. In the year 1692, Keith, a zealous Quaker, being in Philadelphia, discovered that the society used the greatest licentiousness, in doing away, by allegory, the narrative of the real sufferings of Christ; and consequently the doctrine of a real atonement. He suspected them of being infected with the spirit of deism. He drew on him the resentment of the body. Penn was at this time in London. Not understanding the true cause of the dispute, he addressed a letter to Turner, a justice in Philadelphia. He defends "honest G. Keith and his Platonic studies." Keith returned to London. He soon discovered that these sentiments, which he had attacked, were not confined to the transatlantic Quakers. Penn had spoken from the text, "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sins." This exposition was strictly orthodox on their principles. "*The blood is the life, and the life is the light within them.*" Keith, at a subsequent meeting, took up this subject, and showed that "sin was cleansed by the blood of the true Christ actually shed on Calvary." Penn started from his seat; and, as he afterwards stated in the annual meeting, being so "transported by the power of God, that he was carried out of himself, and did not know whether he was sitting, or standing, or on his knees: he thundered forth this anathema," "*I pronounce thee an apostate, over the head of thee.*" The great body followed Penn. Keith was condemned by an edict of the

* See Shack. Lett. to the Monthly Meeting of Carlow, 1801, and Rathbone's Nar. p. 164.

† "Snake, &c." p. 71 and 282.

annual meeting, but was not tardy in his own defence: he denounced the society as Deists, under the disguise of allegory, and he went as far as arguments can go to establish the fact.*

In 1711, a dissention arose in the annual meeting in London. It was in consequence of an attempt, by a strong party, to have a general review of the Friend's books; and to expunge any errors that might be found in them. Whitehead was the head of the other party. He argued, that a project of this kind, was a virtual surrender of their infallibility and inspiration. His party prevailed. Hence it is, that the polemics of the society defend every expression that dropt from the pen of their ancients. They would not surrender, to their opponents, one item; nor deign to offer one apology. In Whiting's collection of the books of the society, however, it appears that great freedoms have been used. The fact has been established, by a comparison of the ancient and modern editions, that the most offensive expressions have been expunged: that Fox's Journal, in particular, had undergone a severe castigation.† Nor is this to be wondered at. Penn has advocated the measure in a similar case. When Fox and he ventured to alter, to a more orthodox sense, a paper "given forth by inspiration," he defended the deed on this ground, "that the spirit of the prophets is subject to the prophets."‡

Besides these divisions, the Free Quakers, who justly advocate the principle of self-defence, have formed themselves into a society. There are, also, the *Jumping Quakers*, who, in the days of Penn, seceded, under their leader, Case.§ These copied their gestures from the ancient Salii, the priests of Mars, in preference to the priestess of Delphi. Instead of the devout acts of trembling and quaking, they adopted those of jumping! They are perpetuated among us to this day. They exist near Albany, and in the state of Ohio. "They may be considered," said uncle John, "as a species of extravagance, even in the kingdom of darkness. And yet, (such is human nature) they may maintain their march till they fall before the glory of the latter day! For

* See Keith's "Deism of W. Penn," and Mosh. vol. v. cent. 17. ch. 4. sect. 2. part 2. See note B. appendix 1.

† Bugg's Pict. p. 64, 65. "Snake, &c." p. 118.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 217.

§ See "The Quakers, a divided people," publ. in A. D. 1708.

though their doctrinal system is rotten to the core, they do, nathless, retain much of the decencies and loveliness of morality in their private manners."

§ 26.—Human nature is the same in all societies. The spirit of persecution has disgraced almost every section of christians. The Puritans were persecuted by the Hierarchy. In New England, the Puritans persecuted the Friends.* And amiable as they are, the Friends have had a visit from this demon. Those who have studied their history, will remember the cases of Pierson, and of King, and of Chadwell, and Ann Mudd. In *their* sufferings we have a view, in miniature, of the members of the society retaliating on individuals that cruelty which fell on them from a persecuting priesthood. Those persons disturbed the Friends' meetings as Fox and others did those of the church. They were dragged out, and subjected to that specific cruelty, which Fox records in his case. Pierson was insulted; his clothes were torn; "his blood was shed;" he was laid across a horse and carried by Friends to an ale house. They had him seized by a warrant; he was dragged before a justice. Four times they imprisoned him in arbitrary prisons: twice they placed him in the jail of Carlisle; and finally, at the annual meeting, they contrived to have him arrested, under a charge of debt, and thrown into a jail in London. His feeling appeals against the society, are made precisely in the words of Fox against the church, and the cruel magistracy of his day.†

To the same spirit, we must ascribe their harsh measures of discipline. Members have been expelled because they had scruples against rising and uncovering during prayer.‡ Some have felt the thunders of their vatican, because they sold a book hostile to their tenets.§ If members marry out of the society, they

* I magnify not the spot on the character of those great men who founded New England. I simply state a fact. And that spot is certainly covered by that glory which their sons and their daughters have thrown around them by their perfect liberality, and by their superior labours in the Bible and Missionary causes.

† Penn ii. 193, 212, 214, and Muckalow's book, p. 22 and 29, and Pierson's "Relation of the implacable cruelty of the Quak. A. D. 1713," and Bugg's Picture of Quak.

‡ Rathb. Nar. p. 72.

§ I refer the Quaker to their Regist. of Condem. for 1681, and "Snake, &c." edit. 3. p. 308, 309, or edit. 2. p. 304.

are forthwith expelled. And in our large cities, this infliction on a merchant, who has been brought up in the society, and who has his mercantile concerns chiefly among them, is a signal for his ruin.* In Ireland, and sometimes in England, they inflict a kind of civil penalty on those who marry out of their community. The parents of the offending parties "are *enjoined by the annual meeting, not to give them any of their substance or portion,*" until they return to the unity of the body. And those parents who "*shall give portions to them, or entertain them, or be familiar with them,*" shall "*be closely dealt with.*" *And if they persist, they too shall be excluded.*† And this exclusion, in every case, except that of the rich and independent, is paramount to ruin in temporal concerns.‡

§ 27.—The Society, from its first appearance, has had this peculiar feature, that it has always stood alone. It has been an Ishmael on the limits of the Reformed churches. It has been against every one of her sections, and every one of them has been against it. Toward the close of the 17th century, the tide of public opinion was directed against them with constant and increasing violence. The pulpit and the press were put in requisition. Individuals and whole counties, ministers and laymen, bishops and judges united their efforts to repel their violence against the doctrines and institutions of Christ. Hicks had convicted them of impiety and irreverence toward the Holy Scriptures.§ "The magistracy, the gentlemen and ministry of the county of Lancaster," had petitioned the council to interpose, to set bounds to their errors and disorders.‖ Dr. Owen, a voluminous writer against the society, but who seldom named them, had, with his known weight of talents, and with great moderation, followed them over their system, and had given triumphant refutations of their errors in the Trinity, on the person of Christ: on the person and ope-

* See the melancholy details in Evans's Narrative. Philad. Athen. Libr. pampl. vol. 53, no. 4.

† See extracts of the National Half-years' meeting, A. D 1680.

‡ Rathbone's do. appendix, no. 6, on the connexion between disownment and persecution.

§ Dialogue between a Christian and Quak. Penn ii. p. 590, and Rathbone's Narrative, appendix no. 5. Phil Libr. no. 3798, octavo.

‖ See the petition in "Snake, &c." p. 21.

rations of the spirit: on the Scriptures: on the Sabbath and the divine ordinances.* Judge Hale had exposed their "superstitious folly, in placing so much of their religion in keeping on the hat; in using thee and thou; in changing names of days and months." He had exposed their "subtle schemes, in drawing off the people from christian institutions and the ministry, that they might infuse into them their corrupt principles."† Faldo had, at the bar of the public, convicted them of Socinian errors.‡ Stalham had, with great effect, exhibited their contradictions with themselves and with the Scriptures.§ The amiable and sensible Scandrett had travelled over their system, and exposed, in the most candid manner, their complicated errors.‖ Twenty-one divines, among whom we find the names of Manton, Gouge and Baxter, had established the fact, that the leaders of the society had formed a medley of Sabellian and Socinian errors in their creed.¶ Three learned rectors,** in a joint production, entitled, "*The Principles of Quakers shown to be blasphemous and seditious*," had roused the indignation of the religious public, and spread alarm through the body of the society. Leslie, the favourite of the public in that dispute, and distinguished for his ingenuity and solidity, his sallies of wit and satire, had exposed on every vulnerable point, the errors, the superstition and contradictions of the society.†† The venerable bishop of Cork had, with dignity and success, shown that the society was not only enveloped in a cloud of errors, but that not two of their leaders were agreed about their first principle.‡‡ Keith had shown, by abundant evidence, that by means of allegory, they had removed from their system, the

* Each of these is discussed less, or more fully, in different parts of his works.

† Sir Matthew Hale's Works, vol. i. p. 208. edit. 1805.

‡ In his "*Quakerism no Christianity*." A. D. 1673.

§ "Reviler rebuked."

‖ "Antidote against Quak." Small quarto, in the Philad. Libr. no. 1323. See Calamy's Ejected Min. Art. Scandrett.

¶ See Pref. to Faldo, and also Penn, ii. 608.

** Dr Beckham, Dr. Meriton and Dr. Topcliffe.

†† "*Snake in the Grass*" It went through three editions in little more than a year. It was the object of assault by every Quaker author. No Quaker can speak of this book in temperate language. See no. 1474, duod. Philad. Libr.

‡‡ See his "*Testimony, &c.*" and Penn, ii. 885. They cannot agree on the nature of the light in them. See vol. ii. ch. vi. following.

true *outward Christ:* and that instead of him, who in real human nature, had died on the cross, they had introduced the visionary principle of the *Christ within:* and that they avowed the deistical sentiment, that the knowledge of the *outward Christ* was not essentially necessary to the salvation of man in pagan darkness.* Bennet's criticisms and learned expositions, had taught his countrymen how to detect the sophistry of Barclay, and dissolve his imposing syllogisms.† The act of toleration of A. D. 1689, had required of the members of the society to make a confession of their faith, in "God the Father, and the Lord Jesus his eternal Son, the true God; and the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for ever."‡ The veteran, F. Bugg, had, for upwards of thirty years, laboured to unfold to the religious world, the true nature and tendency of the doctrines of this sect. He had written eighty-five books against the proselytes of Fox and Loe. He had put forth his "*painted harlot;*" his "*battering rams against new Rome;*" his "*one blow more at new Rome.*" He had thrown his "*first bomb,*" and his "*second bomb,*" and his "*third bomb,*" into the "Quaker camp."§ Several counties had petitioned parliament to examine their tenets and conduct, and to watch them as dangerous innovators.‖ The learned Stillingfleet had unfolded the origin and the natural tendency of the pestilential errors of the society.¶ Strong suspicions had been excited in the public mind, of an intimate connexion existing between the Jesuits and the leading men in the society.** It is certain that some of these men had evinced zeal for popery at an anterior date; and the public had not been fully satisfied that the Quakers had converted them. Labadie, of the society of Jesuits, established Quakerism in Holland. Bar-

"Deism of W. Penn" and Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times: vol. ii. p. 248. fol. edit.

† See his Review of the Apology, entitled, "Confutation of Quak. edit. octavo, 1705.

‡ Besse i. p. 50. fol.

§ His great work is the Picture of Quak. in 8 parts. See no. 1554, octavo, in the Philad. Libr. edit. of A. D. 1714.

‖ See copies of the petitions in Bugg's Picture of Quak. p. 96.

¶ Dr. S. says, "judging the father from the child's likeness in doctrine and practice, the founder of the Jesuits is the grandfather of the Quakers." "Idolat. of the Roman Church," p. 282. edit. 2.

** See Besse, vol. i. p. 40, and "Quakerism Anatomized" by Jenner and Taylor, p. 162, and Penn, vol. ii. p. 76.

clay was educated under his uncle in the Scots Catholic college* of Paris. Vaughton, one of their best speakers, had been Catholic. And Southby, who had graced the assemblies in Philadelphia, had been a worshipper of the host and saints.† But the books which issued from the press by the agency of Fox, excited the strongest suspicions. The grand jury of Norfolk, England, stated it to be a fact, established by his manuscript letters, that Fox could not write two sentences in good English:‡ and that it was admitted by all his friends that he knew nothing of the learned languages:§ yet that this man published, under his name, eight books in Latin, and a species of polyglot, in which sentences of Latin, Hebrew, Italian, Greek, Syriac and Chaldaic, were arranged in their respective columns.‖ Some said that the Jews or at least Jesuits had compiled them: others supposed that the gold of the society had done it.¶

§ 28.—The result of these able exposures, was the confirmation of many wavering christians, the recovery of some distinguished converts,** and a general and severe check to the tide of error. It threw a damp on the ardour of the Lupercalians, and annihilated those excessive disorders which are the stigma of the first and second periods of their history. The great body of their people, simple and illiterate, stood with breathless expectation, and raised their anxious eyes to their leaders. The public indignation was too strong not to make them bend. They retreated from the high ground which they had assumed. They lowered their tone. But I cannot perceive that they renounced an item of their doctrinal system. Penn wrote his "*Key.*" He made marvellous concessions. "Setting aside some school terms," says he, "we hold the

* Or Convent.

† In 1697, "Snake, &c. in the Grass," p. 188 or p. 185. edit. 2 of 1697.

‡ See a specimen in "*Bugg's Picture*," p. 336, &c.

§ Leslie, the author of the "*Snake,*" has waggishly supposed, that G. Fox had stumbled on an ancient copy of the English Bible, and having taken it for the *original*, he produced its authority as the authority of the *original tongues* for his favourite, "*thee and thou!*"

‖ See the petition of the grand jury in Bugg's Picture of Quakerism, p. 334, &c.

¶ See "the Snake, &c." p. 84.

** See a specimen in Haworth's "Narrative," &c. Lond. 1699, Philad. Libr. no. 940, quarto, Tract ninth.

substance of the doctrines of the church of England."* The leaders of the sect sent forth a confession in twelve articles. These made, in words at least, an approximation to the creed of the Reformed churches. But the *true* doctrines of the society are involved in ambiguity. If the words be taken in the orthodox sense, they do contain sentiments hostile to those laid before the public already in their books. Their ambiguity rests chiefly on the grand article, then chiefly in dispute. That is, whether they have any *other Christ than that in them:* whether they do acknowledge the Lord Christ to be a *distinct person* from the Father, and in the heavens in his *glorified body.* But with all its ambiguity, this confession, even in the close of the 17th century, avows the sentiment of the father of English Deists;† that the knowledge of the crucified Saviour is *not essentially necessary to the salvation of man.*‡ And, with all the public indignation hanging over their heads, they are not afraid actually to avow the Foxonian sentiment, that the name of Jesus and of Christ belongs to every member in their church; with this exception, that it belongs not so *amply*§ to them as to him who was born of the Virgin.‖ But admitting that this confession were orthodox, it is in several points, at perfect antipodes with the writings of their ancient elders, to which they appeal as the standards of their orthodoxy!

§ 29. After these theological sentiments had slumbered, during the repose which the society enjoyed under the mild reigns of Anne, of George the First, and of George the Second, the attention of the religious world was again excited, and directed to the society by the venerable bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. That eminent prelate wrote a "*Vindication of the miracles of our Lord.*" In the course of his review of Woolston, he took occasion to contrast the opinions of the Quakers with those of that infidel. The

* See his "Faith of God held by Quakers:" and his reply to the bishop of Cork.

† Herbert "De Relig. Gentil."

‡ See Sewel, vol. ii. p. 477, 478.

§ In the first edition this word was printed in old English letters. Leslie's Snake, &c. p. 175.

‖ See "the Christian Testim. art. x. ancient edit." and "Snake, &c." p. 175 and edit 2. p. 171. Sewel has taken the liberty of *omitting the last eight articles.* He gives only the least exceptionable, viz. the *first, second* and third, vol. ii. p. 483.

result of his ingenious argument, in which he displays an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the sentiments of the ancient Friends, is, that they are Deists under the disguise of allegory. "The Quakers," said the bishop, "have been so far deluded, as to lose the belief of a *real and external Jesus*, by the *Christ within*, and the literal resurrection of the one by the spiritual and moral one of the latter."*

This book was dedicated to the King. This circumstance, with the ability and candour with which it was written, created an alarm in the society: they put their advocates in requisition; but conscious of their weakness, they threw themselves at the foot of the throne. They preferred a complaint against their assailant, before their sovereign, and implored his protection as if the good bishop had been about to send them to the stake—or at least like a Cyclops, had been about to devour them bodily! They pledged a vindication of their tenets before the public; that vindication threw no light on the subject: it was a feeble re-echo of the voice of their fathers; expressing, however, a disposition to smooth some of the rougher features of their system, and to throw a veil over some sentiments which were rather more mystical than what the enlightened age would bear.†

§ 30. The incidents in the latter years of their history are uninteresting. It presents occasionally a prophet or a prophetess at the bar of the public, with an insipid journal;‡ or a sensible Friend attempting to represent their tenets as very orthodox, even more orthodox than those which are surely contained in the pages of Fox and Penn;§ or a historian lamenting the degeneracy of the modern Friends in dress and speech, and recreating his memory and the imagination of his fellows, by a picture of the characters of olden times; whom he exalts to ghostly honours equal to those of the calendar.‖ But more frequently it exhibits

* Vindication of the Miracles of Jesus, against Woolston, p. 572. edit. A. D 1730. See more of this, part ii. ch ix. following.

† *Reply in two letters to the "Bishop of Litchf. and Cov."* by T. S. Lond. A. D. 1733. No. 899. oct. Phil. Lib.

‡ Journals of Job Scott, Philips, Grub, Gratton, Lucas, &c.

§ See the papers of *H. Tuke*. in Christ. Obs. for May, 1814.

‖ See Besse's Sufferings of Quakers, 2 vols. folio, A. D. 1753, pp. No. 1405, Phil. Lib.

a disowned member, preferring his unavailing plea to the ear of the public, against tyranny and persecution.*

It is now a hundred and eighty years since these principles were brought into operation. After various modifications under the ordeal of public opinion, they seem, like Ishmael, to have taken their place: and they "dwell in the presence of all their brethren." In Britain the society gains few proselytes: they appear to be on the decline in the land that gave them birth.† The mere increase of their population does not suffice to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the expulsions and desertions which the society have to lament. In the United States, they are, it is presumed, on the increase. Remote from the projects of ambitions statesmen, and the struggles of the warrior for his bloody laurels, and the political convulsions of nations, the society has held on its way, and kept up the testimony of their fathers; and "followed its own concerns in pursuit of riches, with a step as steady as time, and an appetite as keen as death." Amidst the united and unceasing exertions of every section of the church, by Missionary and Bible societies, to extend the blessings of christianity to every region of the world, and to meliorate the condition of man, christian and savage, the society has declined every invitation to second our efforts in the grand cause: and they stand at the same painful distance from every section of the church, and frown from them every approach to religious intercourse and communion. Distinguished individuals have, indeed, with a noble independence and amiable charity, lent their valuable services in the gratuitous distribution of Bibles:‡ but, as a society, they stand aloof and throw in their entire influence against the enterprises of zeal and charity which distinguish this age. What they do, they will do alone; and that little which has been done

* Rathbone, Evans, &c.

† Clarkson's portrait of Quak. vol. iii. ch. 3. They amount to about 24,000 in Britain. Rathbone's Na t. p. 219, note. In the close of the seventeenth century they were ca. ulated to amount to 100,000 souls in England. See "*Snake in the Grass*," p. 245—second edit.

‡ In England leading *members* have done themselves the highest honour, and the cause of God essential services, by aiding the efforts of the Bible Society. Christ. Observer, vol. for 1812. We can boast also of our liberal New York Friends, members of the American Bible Society. The number, however, is extremely small.

this way by them, has been confined to some attempts at the civilization of some Indian tribes, and the meliorating of the condition of the Africans.*

§ 31. Conclusion.—The force of prejudice and sectarian pride may retain a principle even after it has been proved to be of pernicious tendency. But self-defence will prompt some change in the form at least, of management.

The society have certainly discovered, of late years, that their illiterate prophets, with all the advantage *of immediate objective revelations*,"† are not the best qualified in the world for their public defence. They have not, however, given up their hereditary antipathy to the sciences; and although they have no learned members zealous enough to undertake their defences, most fortunately they have funds, and these funds, though barred, for reasons of principle against the Missionary and Bible societies, are freely unlocked in the cause of Quakerism. These funds paid liberally for the gratuitous distribution of ten thousand copies of the "Apology," and eight thousand copies of Wyeth :‡ and in later times it has been no less liberal. It will form a curious era in letters, if their enemies in London should contrive to excite a tumult against the Friends, by a fresh exposure of avarice or monopoly of corn; the writers of the Fleet and of Grub street, who hire out their literary talents for a "consideration," will soon discover, if they have not already fortunately discovered, that the wealthy members of the society have become *the patrons of science*, and are much more liberal in paying for any thing in their line, than the most of the modern Mecænases, to poets and pamphleteers!

It is certain that with the exception of the amiable and revered Tuke, their defendants in the latest conflicts have been men not of their society. The antagonist of the bishop of Litchfield and

* The extent of their influence in putting down that most execrable traffic in human beings, the *African Slave Trade*, we cannot strictly define. They gloriously roused up the public mind to a sense of the evil; and then acted nobly and firmly in concert with the statesmen and christian public of the United States and Britain. "Palmam qui meruit, ferat."

† Barclay.

‡ Against Leslie's "Snake in the Grass. See Bugg. Pict. of Quak. p. 102, &c.

Coventry, was a polite and candid man; but he was not a Quaker.* And about the close of the eighteenth century and somewhat later, when the public indignation against the English Quakers was running so high that they could not venture with safety to appear in the streets of London,† and when some defence was no longer a matter of choice with them, their anxiety and "*some particular aid*,"‡ called forth two writers to their sinking cause.§ They were not Quakers when they entered the field, but they probably wrote themselves into that faith. Bristed, of the inner temple, and who *could draw up a brief*, was the one: he appeared in 1805, with his pitiful production sighing forth as many apologies for his want of time, and his defects, as for those of his afflicted clients.‖ Thomas Clarkson who deserves the surname of *Africanus*, for his illustrious labours in behalf of bleeding Africa, was the other.¶

This amiable man was unsettled in his religious opinions, when his labours for Africa introduced him among the Friends. He had contented himself with those undefined sentiments on religion, which float in the society of the mere men of letters, and among the persons who move in the gay circles: he found the Quakers his faithful auxiliaries in the great cause of outraged humanity, and like every other man who has not studied his Bible, nor the creeds and canons of the church, he drew the inference that the religious opinions of an amiable and humane people must of course be orthodox, and the very best. To this conclusion he was gradually drawn as his admiration of their efforts increased, and as they entwined themselves around his affections by their hospitable attentions. Hence the fact, that his book contains a portraiture of their doctrines, not drawn from their works, the only correct source, but from his impressions and

* See his Letters to the Bishop of L. and C. A. D. 1783.

† The crime which the public laid to their charge was the monopolizing of corn, &c. D. Bacon's verbal statement, and Evans's Narrat. Philad. 1811, p. 236.

‡ Evans's Nar. 263, &c. &c.

§ Bevan published a small duodecimo, in A. D. 1800. "*A Refutation of some Misrepresentations*," &c. It is a hurriedly written and superficial thing, without one new idea.

‖ See his "Society of Friends, or people called Quakers Examined," 8vo. one vol.

¶ Portraiture of Quak. 3 vol. 12.

feelings, with the meagre gleanings of conversation. He does not quote, because he had not read the folios of the society. "Thus say the Quakers," is the usual authority. It is all, in general, that he vouchsafes to give us; in vain we look into his loose and defective representations, for a character of the first Friends, or for the doctrinal system of Penn and Barclay. He neither attempts the one, nor explains the other Yet defective as it is, we consider his book valuable on one account, it does, in no obscure manner, confirm the fact that the amiable Tuke has erred in his representation of the doctrines of his society.* Clarkson does prove that the society is as Sabellian and as Socinian as it ever was, and that they have, with the holy sacraments, erased from their system, the leading doctrines of christianity. In fact, his pages confirm all the charges which the venerable bishop of St. David has brought forward against them.† We produce the following theological system of this, the last of their champions, as the proof of what we have said. *The spirit that had appeared in the old creation, is the word or the light. This spirit, or word, was in time made flesh.* "*It inhabited the body of the person Jesus.*" *The same spirit or word is in man, with this difference, that it was perfect in Jesus, it is in man in a measure. This spirit acts not only as a guide to man, it performs the office of a redeemer. It's rising up within, is man's new birth. This birth is his sanctification, and this is the procuring cause of his justification and acceptance.*‡ This, meagre as it is, is sufficient to show that the present doctrines of the English and American Friends, agree with those of Penn's "Sandy Foundation," and of Job Scott's Journal.

§ 32.—On the whole, the society of Friends exhibit a singular phenomenon in the history of the human mind, and of the progress of refinement and knowledge. The society bears the honoured name of Christ. It's doctrines are the dogmata of Plato and Saccas; its language is the consecrated language of the Bible;

* Tuke's *Principles, &c. of Quakers, and Christian Obs.*" July, 1814.

† See his "Charge to his Clergy." Sep. 1813, and Christian Obs. May 1814.

‡ Clarkson's Port. vol. ii. ch. 7, &c. compared with F. Nowgill's sentiments. Sewel, vol. ii. p. 220. Phil. Ed. 1811.

its ideas attached to this language are at antipodes with the analogy of faith, and the creeds of all the churches. It renders homage to the name of Christ; the Christ they honour "*is in every man.*" It professes to rest on the atonement of Christ; the atonement which it advocates is wrought out in the bosom of every member of the sect.* It professes to retain the purest system of christianity,† and in that system, there is no place found for the holiest doctrines of the Bible, the trinity, the distinct personality of the Holy Ghost; the distinct personality of our Lord, the real atonement by his blood shed on Calvary; and all those doctrines built on those as their necessary basis. It professes the highest veneration for the institutions of Christ; it rejects the holiest of them, baptism and the Lord's supper. It professes to be the most spiritual society: if we neutralize all that in the system which has been derived from the mystics, there will remain the residuum of an imposing but unsubstantial morality:—imposing in the eyes of men, and not without its purposes and uses; but unsubstantial when weighed in the balance of the sanctuary before the throne of justice. It professes to believe that each of its members has in him the true Christ, the infallible spirit which alone does teach and guide him; yet it has its outward teachers, and its meetings for discipline. Its leaders pour out a torrent of raillery against Socinians; yet Socinianism is one of the most prominent features of its doctrinal system.‡ It rejects the ministry as "made by man," because they arrive at their office through a course of study and by a license; and it censures its members who venture to preach without license from the select meeting of its ministers.§ It brands our ministry with the appellation of "*hirelings*," because according to the will of their Lord, "they live by the gospel;‖ and it advocates the pro-

* Compare Penn ii. p. 231 and p. 530.

† Clarks. Port. vol. 1. p. v. p. 1.

‡ See Part II. and chap vii. following, on the doctrines of the society. Compare Penn's Tract called "*The Winding Sheet, &c.*" with his books "*Reasoning against Railing*," and "*The Sandy Foundation.*" See the "*Snake, &c.* sect. 11.

§ "The monthly meeting are advised to select such under the denomination of elders." Sum. of Hist. Discip. of Friends. Lon. 8vo. p. 27. Rathbone's Narrative, p. 156. Christ. Observer, vol. 12. p. 602, and vol. 13, p. p. 99, 112.

‖ 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14, Gal. vi. 6. 1 Tim. v. 17.

priety of supporting its own, though in a penurious manner.* Its preachers speak only by the motions of inspiration; yet elders are appointed to superintend and regulate them in the meetings. One party claiming infallibility sets up meetings of men and women for discipline; another party with the same claims puts it down as intolerant. One class under this infallibility excommunicates its brethren for dissenting from them; the other with equal infallibility (the evidence of each is the same) and with the zeal of those days when pope opposed pope, returned the fulmination. As if heaven would become a party in their innovations, Fox produced an inspiration to determine the orthodox use of the "*hat*, and of *thee* and *thou*." As if heaven did not regard contradictions, Penn tells us that Fox was not sent to teach the propriety of speech.† It professes itself an enemy to external forms: none are more tenacious of forms—none more precise than they, even in the minor points of dress and speech. They profess themselves Friends to all, on the broad basis of a liberal charity: and they denounce the ministry of all the churches; they denounce all christians but those of their own sect.‡ On the score of religion they will neither grant nor receive any communion; they will admit of no interchange of christian fellowship. They withdrew to such an immeasurable distance from the lovely practice of charity, that they will neither give nor take a "*God's speed*" in the matters of religion.§ Nay, such is their opinion of even the best of their fellow men, that they persecute even to expulsion, and with a species of civil pains, those members who marry individuals from any other christian society.‖ It professes that the worship of God is offered by the immediate movings of the Spirit, who is not limited to place, time or persons.¶ Yet it has not only its stated ministers, but its meeting houses,

* Barclay, Theses. xl. and see Part ii. ch. 4, following.

† Fox Jour. i. 113. and Penn ii. p. 119.

‡ See the proofs in "Snake in the Grass," sect. 16.

§ Hence it is evident that the title of *Friend*, [which Clarkson thinks so lovely; but which makes no approximation to the affectionate title of *Brother*, used by the ministers of Jesus Christ] has no connexion with religion; it has merely a temporal bearing, or it is simply an empty compliment, used habitually by these enemies of all titles and compliments, when addressed by them to any one out of their society.

‖ See the statement above in sect. 26.

¶ Bar. Les. xi. Apol.

in which alone it assembles; its stated days, and stated hours, which are as accurately observed as if announced by the "*sand glasses*, or *the bell*" of the "*hirelings*." It professes "not to have budged one jot from the testimony of its ancients;" and it has told the world, after all the volumes of Fox, and of Penn, and of Barclay, were lying before it, that it holds to the creed, and to nearly all the doctrines of the church of England.* As the steady followers of Fox, the society makes plainness a distinguished article of their religion; yet such is the richness of their dresses, the splendour of their equipages, the luxury of their tables, and the delicacy and profusion of their wines,† that, if that same George Fox were to rise from the dead, and behold the mournful degeneracy of his disciples, he would come down in great wrath; he would resume his Herculean labours, and he would fight all his battles over again, in organizing a new sect out of degenerated Quakerism.

* Penn "Truth held by Quakers." A. D. 1699, p. 48.

† Plumpudding week—(all the world has heard of Plumpudding week) affords a fair specimen of this to their country prophets and members.

END OF PART I.

PART II.

OF THEIR DOCTRINAL TENETS, WORSHIP, MINISTRY, &c.

"Quæ et a falsis initiis profecta, vera esse non possunt: et, si essent vera, nihil afferrent quo meliús viveremus."

Cic. de Finibus, I.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

OF THEIR GRAND RELIGIOUS TENET—IMMEDIATE REVELATIONS.*

"Ἐνθουσιασταὶ γαρ καλουνται, δαίμονές τινος ενεργείας εισδεχόμενοι· Και Πνεύματος Αγίου παρουσίαν ταύτην ὑπολαμβάνοντες."

THEODORET.

§ 1. THIS is certainly the most important article in the creed of the society: it is the pillar and ground of their system. Penn and Barclay knew this, and they put forth their whole strength to establish it. But, as it appears on their pages, it is confused and obscure; and, unquestionably, it is the most vulnerable point of their whole theory. Without taking pains to investigate the sentiments of the church, and without laying down any clear definitions, and without even forming just conceptions of the point in debate, they rush into the middle of their subject, and are speedily enveloped in syllogism and mystification: and it is a doubtful matter whether human patience can ferret them out.

These writers seem not to have been aware that, in the confessions and articles of the churches, these doctrines have invariably been held essentials: that every true christian is taught of the Holy Spirit; that they receive of him every grace that adorns the christian's character; that he operates by means; that these means are the Holy Scriptures and the institutions of his house; that these means hold the same relation to the Holy Spirit, which secondary means and causes hold to Divine Providence; that in regard to the radical change of the human heart, the gospel of Christ is the adequate and only *means* of setting before the mind the divine objects of faith: but, that however clearly we may perceive what doctrines are taught in the Scriptures, and by

* For a review of their "*universal inward light*," see chap. vi. following, on the defects of their system in respect of a moral standard.

what fulness of rational evidence they are attested, we cannot have a due sense of their divine excellence and fitness, until we possess the divine life and capacities: that there must be the inward powers of discerning, as well as a clear presentation of the objects before the mind; that the Holy Ghost alone bestows on us this life and these capacities;* that this is done by an immediate operation on the human soul; that there is no room for the intervention of a second cause in this step of the work; for it is equivalent to an act of "*raising the dead*," and of "*creating*" something new; and such acts are the acts of Omnipotent power: that every secondary cause being necessarily inferior to the first cause, in other words being inferior to Omnipotence, of course no secondary cause can possess creating energy; that this doctrine is rational, and the doctrine of the Bible.†

They seem also not to have been aware, that the church draws a deep line of distinction between this *immediate operation* on the mind and *immediate revelations*. In the latter, something new and unknown before, is supposed to be conveyed by an immediate impulse. In the former, nothing of this kind does take place. The renewed soul raises its eye to the written oracles of God, which contain the last and the only revelation that shall ever be conveyed from the throne of light. This doctrine of the church is, therefore, radically different from the immediate revelations of the society: and it distinctly recognises the various gifts of the Holy Ghost in his special influences.‡

The church, moreover, bears her testimony of gratitude that

* John iii. 3, 5. Eph. ii. 1, 5, 10, &c.

† Matth. xi. 25. Psalm cxix. 18. 2 Cor. iv. 6. See the Dutch Annot. on Revel. iii. 18. President Edward's Serm. on Math. xvi. 17. Saurin vol. vii. serm. i. Homily i. of the Church of England. Calv. Instit. lib. 1, cap. 8. So also Beza, and Owen, and Bullinger; and P. Martyr. Loc. Com. p. 2. cap. 18. See W. Perkins, the English Calvin's Works, vol. iii. p. 336. fol. A. D. 1609. Presbyterian Confes. of Faith, chap. 1. sect. 5. And we add to these all the fathers quoted by Barclay, and unfairly bent to his purpose. They held no sentiments foreign to those of the church—on this point.

‡ Are we to set down as the ebullition of ignorance, or the accusations of slander, "all that cant that has been canted" in the society from Barclay to this day, about "*apostate christians*," and "*degenerate christians*," and "*carnal christians*" who "*flout at the motions and actings of the spirit*," (Barcl. Apol. Prop. ii. sect. 1, &c.) simply because as conscientious christians, they frown from them the fanatical doctrine of *immediate revelations?* See Bennet's Confut. of Quak. pp. 12, 13, &c.

her Lord "*baptized her with the Holy Ghost.*" In this baptism the Spirit was bestowed in his two extraordinary operations. The first was the principal. The second was subordinate to the first.* The first was for general instruction in truth: the second for the confirming of the heavenly origin of that truth: the first was the extension of the gift of revelation, which rested on the ancient prophets: the second embraced his supernatural and physical gifts. Under the first class, we rank the gifts of the apostle and the evangelist, and the prophet; who brought forward those doctrines which were not taught before, or were but obscurely known: and which went to the completion of the gospel of Christ, and who appointed in the churches which they planted, pastors and governments. Under the second class we rank those who healed all manner of diseases: and those who had "*the inworking of powers:*"† and those who taught and occasionally predicted future events: and those who discerned spirits: and those who spoke miraculously in divers tongues: and those who interpreted these tongues.

The grand resources of both classes of these gifts were directed to two points. *First:* the completion of the sacred canon. *Second:* the establishment of christianity in the world. The first was affected by delivering to the church, in a public manner, their inspired writings: and by confirming the evidences of these writings by miraculous powers. The second was accomplished by organizing churches; and by placing them under their respective ministers and governments; and the moral energies of all the divine doctrines and institutions of Christ. These, in proportion, as they accomplished their end, were to be withdrawn. This was done by degrees. The office of the apostle became extinct at the decease of those who were invested with it.‡ Then the class of superior prophets and of evangelists gradually vanished away. The second class of gifts was vouchsafed to the church for a longer period. The reasons are obvious. On every new field of its display, the gospel had to encounter the same

* It is not denied, that both orders might be found in one and the same person.

† Ενεργηματα δυναμεων. See M'Knight's New Transl. of the Epist. on 1 Cor. xii. 10.

‡ Gal. ch. 1. See Campbell's Eccles. Lectures. v. sect. 3 and 4.

public and ferocious enemies, which opposed it from the first. It needed the aid of those miraculous powers to bring its blessing sooner to the nations. Hence around the wide circle, over which christianity had spread its influences, we can trace the vestiges of these gifts to the second, and the third, and the fourth, and even to the fifth centuries.* But these have, at last, one by one been withdrawn. And there are left the ordinary and ample class of the officers, and the institutions of God's house; and the special gifts of the Holy Spirit, in the full play of successful operation.

There is, indeed, something which seems to me to bear a resemblance to the remains of the supernatural gifts of ancient times: or, shall I rank it under the doctrine of communion with God? Or shall I place it in the ministration of angels? Or under certain operations of the Divine Comforter. I allude to "*the secret of the Lord* being sometimes disclosed to them that love him." Call it by the name of presentiments, or premonitions if you please. It is something different from "*objective revelations.*" These were bestowed for public benefit: and to have concealed them would have been highly criminal. But the former were personal, and were attended by evidence sufficient only to satisfy the individual. These, if we may credit the best of men, have been vouchsafed to some on the approach of calamities: or under the pressure of heavy afflictions: or on the eve of their dissolution. They were tendered by the ministration of angels, through the medium of some of the external senses; or by some impression left on the mind by invisible agency.

This is a subject of peculiar delicacy. But it is something truly sublime. And the mind of the coolest and most dispassionate philosopher will bend over it with feelings of uncommon interest. There is nothing common between these premonitions and the

* Niceph. Eccles. Hist. vol. i. lib. iv. c. 24, 25. Euseb. adv. Hierocl. cap. 4. Mosh. Hist. vol. i. cent. 4. part 1. sect. 23. Wits. Miscel. Sacra. lib. i. cap. 24. Bern. De Moore, vol. i. cap. 1. sect. 33. Miracles were witnessed by Just. Martyr in the second century; by Tertullian, by Origen and by Minutius Felix in the third; by Lactantius in the fourth; and in the beginning of the fifth by Augustine. Their words may be seen in Pol. Synopsis, vol. iv. part 1, p. 835. See also Dr. Owen on spiritual gifts, chap. v. I beg leave, also, to refer to Zach. Brooke, Defensio Miraculorum post temp. apost. no. 634, quarto pamphl. Philad. Publ. Library. And on the other side of the question, to Dodwell's arguments against miracles in the times after the apostles, no. 3358, octavo pamphl. Tract. third. Phil. Library.

dreamy visions which the pride of the fanatic pours into every man's ear; or brings forward, with mischievous solemnity, to prostrate religion and piety. They constitute a part of that high intercourse that obtains between kindred spirits: that obtains between the Almighty and "*the souls which he has made.*" They are the soothing whispers of redeeming love to the pious soul throbbing with agony. They are the interposing aid of an invisible arm stretched out to a soul sinking in the deep waters of sorrow. They are the movements of the soft hand of mercy, wiping off the cold dew of agony from the brow of the dying christian and the suffering patriot; and of the sainted martyr, "*baptized in blood.*" Surely it is no enthusiasm to believe that, in this sense, "*the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him.*" If it be, it is a delightful enthusiasm! But, no! when we look over the recorded evidence in the history of our martyred fathers, in times that happily have passed away, we cannot work our minds up into a state of philosophical insensibility cold enough to oppose it, or even to doubt it.*

§ 2.—In the history of the human mind, there are certain phenomena, which have been reduced by some, under the class of supernatural impulses. We may divide these into two kinds, apparent and real.

First: apparent.—The usual operations of a calm, and espe-

* Those who wish to pursue this idea further, I beg leave to refer to Niceph. Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. lib. x. cap. 35, fol. Archbish. Usher's Life, fol. p. 33. Bishop Brown's sayings of the Jesuits, quoted (out of the Harleian Miscell. vol. v. p. 566,) by M'Lain in Mosh. vol. iv. cent. 16. chap. 1. Lempr. Biog. Dict. article, lord Lyttleton. Bishop Newton on the Proph. vol. iii. p. 47, duod. edit. Le Clerc, Sept. Relig. of the Greeks, p. 249. Spencer on Prodigies and Vulgar Proph. no. 3626, octavo. Phil. Publ. Library. La Harpe's Narrat. of the singular prediction of Mons. Cazotte. Analect. Mag. for A. D. 1815, p. 258. Our divines admit this doctrine; while they sternly frown from them the spirit of enthusiasm. Bern. De Moore, vol. i. cap. 1. sect. 33, and Wits. Miscel. Sac. lib. i. cap. 24. "*Homines pii, ad profiorem amicitiam Numinis admissi, ab ipso edoceantur de rebus futuris—ad excitationem pietatis, ad animi consolationem, &c.*" A Synod of the Reformed church in Germany, A. D. 1633, being moved by some learned divines to declare against all prophecies and revelations of this nature, declined it, adding: "*Nondum ullam Ecclesiam, aut consistorium, vel academiam, novas id genus prophetias penitus rejecisse, aut condemnasse—nos cur primi esse velimus?*" Hist. of Revel. by J. A. C. quoted by Spencer ut supra, p. 111. See also, Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. and M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 391. 393. New York edit.

cially of a distracted mind, are sometimes interrupted by strong impressions suddenly and unaccountably conveyed. The credulous and weak pronounce them without hesitation, to be revelations.

But 1. These may originate in the operations of conscience. This moral power passes sentence on the actions of men. Its operations cannot be always calm and undisturbed. For they play in the bosom of the guilty. When the Divine Spirit reveals to man his guilt, in the lightning of his law, convictions flash through the soul. Terrors fill his heart. His frame is agitated. His sensations, and language, and actions are strangely changed. But whatever may be the phenomena here displayed, they may all be sufficiently explained, or at least accounted for, without resorting to impulses or revelations. These are found in the first process of the work of grace on every christian's heart. But they are not confined to them. They were discovered in the bosom of Judas: and they never cease in the regions of despair! They display the convulsive throes of soul and conscience, struggling painfully to raise itself up, under an insupportable weight of guilt and despair. This offers a sufficient cause for the suddenness and terribleness of the conceptions thrown into the mind.

2. These phenomena are most strikingly revealed in periods when civil broils convulse church and state. Every human passion is wrought to its highest pitch; and men's ears tingle with dismal rumours and deeds of horror. Over these the gloomy imagination broods long and deeply: it collects every minute detail of circumstance which harrows up the soul. His mind becomes strongly agitated; he cannot divert his thoughts from the subject; it is his waking and his sleeping dream. Certain awful conceptions, embodied in the venerated language of sacred writ, and adapted, it may be, in a wonderful manner, to the circumstances of the time and place, are created suddenly and forcibly in his mind. The suitableness of the conception, its unexpected and sudden appearance, must convince every body, he thinks, that it is no creation of his mind; that it is nothing less than supernatural. He broods over this eternally. The dark chaos of his mind is peopled with these aerial creatures of fancy: the disease increases by the same causes which produced it. The im-

pressions on the mind are worn deeper and deeper, under the multiplication of these phantoms. Conjectures mount up into convictions, and convictions settle down into an imperturbable belief that he is inspired. His conscience will let him no longer rest: he must deliver his message; he must speak—or he will burst. He goes forth; he raises his voice; nothing can daunt him. He is an Isaiah or a Paul. "This is the word of the Lord unto you."*

3. There is a constant succession of ideas floating in the mind. The succession is kept up, and regulated by the laws of association. Sometimes the circumstances which gave birth to a new train of thoughts, may have been trivial; and, therefore, very transitory: but in that train of ideas to which they gave birth, some very interesting thoughts may have been instantaneously presented to the soul, and may have flashed through it like a sun beam. Former scenes, it may be, are called up; over which the mind bends in rapturous delight. A house, a field, consecrated by some memorable event; a plain, a city, the theatre of a battle, where was lost or won the liberties of a country—our native country, the spot where our youthful years were spent; whose every plain, and streamlet, and hill are imprinted in the deepest lines on our souls—"*Dulces reminiscitur Argos:*" but especially the fond ideas of friends and of relations pass over the glowing soul on wings of fire. The heart burns with desires after them: the feelings, prompted by sympathy, receive new impulses from this fervour of mind, to impart some new discoveries in the *truth* to them whom it loves, and whose fate it deplores as fatally ignorant of the "*true light.*" In this morbid state of the feelings, such will be the force of these impressions on the tender and fanatical mind, that the man will have a firm persuasion that he is "*inwardly moved*" by a "*divine call;*" that he has "*drawings*" to some particular place, where he must announce his divine message.†

* The first volume of Fox's Journal is a continued illustration by facts of this process in the vagaries of the mind.

† In G. Fox's Journal, there are instances of this recorded in almost every page. The following is quoted, being the one which actually presented itself on my first opening the book. "*Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple house. I replied, I must do as I am ordered by*

These feelings are always strongest in the soft and melancholy mind, and as the mind of the less extravagant in fanaticism is, usually, of this complexion, his convictions of "*inward motion*," and a "*divine call*," will be so strong that the scattered remains of reason will be utterly unable to overrule them; and the morbid state of his judgment, will render the mind incapable of feeling the force of arguments levelled against their folly.

4. To bodily disease we may trace some of these phenomena. There is a certain distemper, some have called it a species of epilepsy, in which, during a partial, if not a total suspension of the faculties of reason and judgment, the memory continues to exert its powers. It retains the incoherent and extraordinary ebullitions of fancy, in those seasons, when by the influence of bodily disease, it roved unrestrained by the higher powers of reason and judgment. The man holds dialogues with invisible beings; he hears and replies to the soft voice of angels. On his shattered organs, soft music as that from the fancied lute of Apollo, thrills its notes. Visions flit before his eyes, and send forth voices on the empty air; in his sombre moments the material objects on which his heavy eye rested, recede and in the distant and awful perspective, a heaven, or it may be, a hell, is presented to his mind; with some of their inmates, formerly his associates. In the hour of solitude he whispers converse with departed friends.* It is the wild play of imagination, unkenneled, and racing furiously over the distempered brain; and the memory, which fails totally in all the common cases of epilepsy, retaining its influence here, preserves the images and movements of these extraordinary conceptions; and hence the man can detail them after the fit is over. In George Fox's Journal,† there are set down by an honest hand as distinct a *diagnosis* and *prognosis* of the disease I allude to, as ever Doctor Rush discovered

the Lord. So I left her and walked into the fields. And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying "go to the steeple house after them." Vol. i. p. 181. Margaret Fell became, in process of time, George Fox's wife. No person can doubt that George had "*drawings*" to the "*steeple house.*"

* Almost every neighbourhood presents cases of this kind, where brutish intemperance has shattered the organ of the brain. Two have fallen under my own observation in New Jersey.

† Vol. i. p. 94, 99, 103, 220, &c.

in the case (and it was, as every medical man believes, with the Doctor, a clear case) of Swedenburgh.*

Over fallen minds a generous opponent can possess no other feelings than sympathy and pity. Their wildest vagaries we let pass; we allow them the throne and the sceptre; we let them become generals and dictators; we let them even talk of sending us rain and fair weather; but when they stalk forth apostles and prophets, and bring a new gospel, and when men worse than they, yield them faith, and sing them hosannahs—nay, then they are no longer to be suffered; they become lawful game, and we may hunt them, provided that we do it with perfect good will to their persons, and use no other weapons than irony and syllogisms, and above all sacred Scripture.

Second—Real impulses—but produced by demons.

While the fallen angels are retained in *hades* under chains of darkness, their present condition is doubtless very different from what it will be in *tartarus*.† They are permitted certain liberties. "*They go to and fro through the earth*," and in their intercourse with our species they manifest an implacable hostility. "*The prince of the power of the air works in the children of disobedience.*"‡ This is not to be limited to his more ordinary and common exertions to seduce men; it may certainly be extended to his every effort to uphold his falling throne by force and by cunning, as the lion and the serpent:§ by force when he lords it over our deluded species, and overwhelms them with the fury of his open assaults: by cunning when "*he transforms himself into an angel of light*," or officiates in pagan lands as prophet and priest, at the shrine of superstition and idolatry. It is to this last that I refer.

He has from time to time taken possession of persons; he has employed the engine of impulses and inspirations; these he has covered with the plausibility and light of some useful portions of knowledge, and some imposing cases of conjecture or prediction. He has thus extended his reign over the fair fields of reason and

* Dr. Rush on the Diseases of the Mind.

† See Dr. Campbell on the distinction between *hades* and *gehenna* or *tartarus*, in his Dissert. prefixed to his new translation of the Gospels.

‡ Eph. ii. 2. See Zanch. and Pol. Synops. in loc.

§ 1 Pet. v. 8. Rev. xx. 2.

truth: and he has bound the Gentiles under the triple chains of ignorance, superstition and idolatry!

1. He has taken possession of persons, and through them he has poured forth his influences like an overflowing torrent, on the human mind. This is illustrated by the otherwise unaccountable practices of the "*Pythones*," who uttered their oracles from their dens at Colophon, at Dodona, and at Delphi.* And it is strikingly illustrated in the history of the demoniacs recorded in the New Testament. Dr. Farmer has indeed, advanced a new theory on this subject He rejects the doctrine of a real possession by demons; he is of opinion "that the style employed in describing these diseases, is adapted to popular prejudices, and used to describe a natural disorder."†

But there are in these cases circumstances utterly unaccountable on this hypothesis. The demoniacs were not labouring under a mere bodily disease; there was something more. There were in them certain beings, distinct from their souls and their bodies; beings which expressed desires and passions of their own; which conversed rationally with Christ; which rendered him homage. These are not the acts of insane men. Moreover, they deprecated their expulsion; they begged of him that they might be disposed of in a certain way: they craved permission to enter into the herd of swine: they did go out: they did enter into the swine: and in one case we discover a demoniacal possession, unaccompanied by any bodily disease. Even her mind was calm, and she procured much gain to her master by divination, and the name given by sacred writ to this demon—"πυθων" indicates that he was specifically the same with those which presided over the oracle of Apollo, at Delphi; and there are no facts to bear out the supposition, that these Pythons laboured under bodily diseases. The truth is, the impulses of the demons produced the bodily distempers and convulsions of the priestesses. Dr. Farmer's theory makes the bodily convulsions to be the cause of the impulses, and to create the oracles!

* Pausan. Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 353. duod. edit. Lond. Hom. Iliad. lib. xvi. ver. 234. Opsopeus Coll. of Orac. quoted by Pausan. Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 334 notes. Relig. of the Greeks by Le Clerc, Sept. p. 242, &c.

† Dr. Farmer on Demoniacs, &c. and Dr. Campbell's Gosp. vol. i. p. 251, and Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 10, &c.

2. Impelled by evil spirits, the demoniacs have uttered portions of useful knowledge and have predicted future events. In the first case it was easy to succeed; in the last they were not always successful. In instances by far the most numerous, they covered their ignorance under a jargon of ambiguity. "Callidè qui illa oracula composuit, perfecit ut quodcunque accidisset prædictum videretur," says Tully;* while human weakness and superstition, heightened by the sombre air of his consecrated cells, or overpowered by the pomp and solemnity of his temples, have received his responses with adoration; and moved by them, have resolved on peace or war, and have determined the fates of nations, by giving them liberty, or by putting them under the yoke of tyranny.

That evil spirits have the disposition to do this, cannot be questioned. That they are physically able to do it, is a supposition neither irrational nor improbable. To effect it, it is not necessary that they should be omniscient or omnipresent. Myriads can be called into action; and they must have an intimate acquaintance with the human mind. They have been studying it these six thousand years!

They have, moreover, been inspecting, for ages, the political movements of all nations: and, as has been shrewdly observed by Hume, "the wars, the negociations and politics of one age, resemble, in a striking manner, those of another."† The reason is obvious. In all these the turbulent passions of men are the prime movers; and these passions are the same in every age, and are equally stubborn and intractable,"‡ and will, of course, lead to the same general results. Hence, by observing the predominant passions of the age, and anticipating the same effects from the same causes, these spirits might readily conjecture the fate of nations, as well as of individuals and societies. In proportion as the probable effects of the causes might appear more evident, they could utter their responses more clearly. As they might be more doubtful, they could clothe them in ambiguity. "Adhibuerunt etiam latebram obscuritatis ut idem versus alias in

* De Divin. lib. 2.
† Essays, vol. i. p. 110.
‡ Miller's Retrosp. vol. i. p. 9.

aliam rem posse accomodari viderentur."* And if the issue should prove disastrous, contrary to the more obvious import of the words, the honour of the oracle might be saved, and the headstrong interpreter must bear the blame of perverting the will of the God.†

In declaring incidents which are taking place at a distance; in disclosing secrets in the lives of individuals, as for instance acts of theft, or of murder, these oracles would be more successful. Legions of them hover in the air, on the deep, and over the face of nations. These can detail to their prince, or to their worshippers, deeds which none but these invisible beings witnessed. To predict incidents of this nature, therefore, comes fairly within the range of their power.‡

They would find it an easier matter still to designate to an enquiring people, a chief, eminent for military prowess;§ or to a senate, a sage of great moral and political wisdom: or to dictate a wholesome law, to pronounce a wise saying, to disclose a portion of fair science. The prince of the fallen angels "was educated in the best divinity school of the universe."‖ He is, doubtless, well acquainted with the Scriptures, with the writings of the sages of ancient fame, and with the laws of different states. There is nothing irrational in supposing that he has actually extracted sentences from these; which, while the interests of his kingdom would not suffer by them, would bind his admiring devotees more strongly to the services of his throne; nay, it would be a matter of wonder to us, did we not find the prince of the fallen spirits dictating oracles full of penetration and wisdom, and calculated to excite the admiration of Greece and of Rome!

This doctrine is as scriptural as it is rational. "If there arise among you a prophet or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass:"—

* Tully ut sup.

†. The following are specimens of this play of Loxias: "Dico te, Œacida, Romanos vincere posse." "Croesus penetrans Halym magnam perverteret opum vim." These make equally for and against the persons addressed.

‡ Pausan. Hist. Greece, vol. i. p. 96, octavo, Lond. John de Mey Comment. Physic. Pentateuchi Mos. vol. i. p. 158. Queen's Coll. Libr.

§ Cornel. Nep. vit. Miltiad.

‖ Said that profound theologian President Edwards.

"There shall arise false prophets, who shall show great signs and wonders"—"That wicked shall be revealed, whose coming is after the *working of Satan* with all power, and signs, and lying wonders."*

And I do not see what can be opposed to the statements of ancient writers on this article. Historians, civil and ecclesiastical, have recorded oracles which were accomplished with much exactness; and were of great political consequence, and often of a salutary and moral tendency.†

Our conclusion from the preceding remarks is this: demoniacs may utter predictions and even valuable truths. Moral and political benefits may result from them. But our judgment of these oracles is not to be formed from these partial benefits; but from their general tendencies, and from the effects actually resulting from the whole. We ought never to lose sight of this fact, that they were distinguished by their opposition to genuine truth; and to the honour of the one living and true God; and to the eternal happiness of man. Those very benefits which they conferred, helped on the delusion: like the vapour's flash, at the midnight hour, they shed a light over the benighted wanderer. He sees the light and rejoices in the unexpected aid. But his gratitude is soon displaced by the appalling discovery, that it has lighted him on to his destruction. The favour conferred—death.

Hence if an individual, or a sect, bring forward predictions and signs in support of a new gospel, we admit the possibility of these wonders. We admit their probability; and on evidence, we admit frankly their truth. But we know distinctly to what spirit we are to refer them, and we class them accordingly with the miracles of Greece and Rome.

§ 3.—By these preliminary observations I have gained two objects. *First:* we can now disentangle the question from the extraneous matter mixed with it. We are not to enquire whether there is an extraordinary dispensation of the Spirit in the new economy: nor whether the believer is led by the Spirit of God,

* Deut. xiii. 1. Matth. xxiv. 24. 2 Thess. ii. 8, 9. See also 1 Sam xviii. 10.

† Note C, appendix 1.

as his secret instructor: nor whether the energies of the Holy Ghost be exerted in an immediate operation on the mind in the process of regeneration: nor whether there be occasionally, a communication from the Deity in the form of a premonition to a pious mind. The question simply respects *immediate objective revelations*, which are specifically the same with those of the prophets and apostles. And on this question we are not to enquire whether the existence of such revelations be possible: or whether christians might not have them; or at least, ought to have them.*

To institute such an enquiry would betray arrogance and presumption. It would argue a great degree of folly. It would, besides, serve no valuable end. What historian ever began his narrative by an enquiry into the possibility of the existence of the nation whose history he is going to write. It cannot be questioned that the Almighty, on condition of his being willing, can now as much as ever, endue men with the Holy Ghost. But the *possibility* or the *probability* of things, does not determinate the certainty of them. The simple question is: *Has every christian the gift of immediate objective revelations, which suggest to him his every word and action?* The affirmative of this is taken by every Quaker. It is the grand shibboleth of the sect.†

Second: the other object gained is this: we can readily dispose of all those arguments, which go to prove nothing more than what

* Barclay has thus unfairly shifted the question, (Prop. ii. sect. 13.) from the *fact* to the *possibility* of the thing.

† The proud claims of the sect are thus advanced: they have "immediate revelations which are not to be subjected to the test of reason or of scripture, as a more noble or certain rule." The scriptures may "be helpful and profitable." But they have such "inward knowledge of God by *revelation*, that there is no absolute necessity of any written rule." See Apol. Prop. ii. Thesis. and sect 15, p. 76, and sect. 4. p. 40. Penn thus speaks plainly out. "The scriptures cannot be called a revelation of God's will, till they are first opened by him who is the *spirit of truth*;" that is *their inward light*. See his works, vol. ii. p. 37. As to the specific nature of these revelations, they tell us that they are the same as those of Moses, and of Abraham, and of Stephen. Bar. Apol. Prop. ii. sect 10 and 11.—Burrough's works, folio, p. 58, says, "the same spirit by which they, (he is speaking of Moses and Jeremiah) were acted, acts us (the Quakers) in the same way according to its measures." "*The gospel which they* (the Quakers) *preach, they have not received from men, nor from books, nor from writings, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ* IN THEM." Penn homologates these words of Gibson as the common sentiments of the society. "Sure I am," says Penn, "that this assertion of Gibson is right." Vol. ii. p. 472.

is admitted by us respecting the agency of the Holy Spirit, and the operations of our own minds, and the apparent or real impulses of demons. We are to reject them as unnecessary encumbrances on the question under discussion.

§ 4.—These claims of the leading Quakers are bold and daring. But how are they sustained? It is one thing to come forward fearlessly and unblushingly as an apostle. It is another thing to support the high claims.

The shortest process, and certainly the most correct, would have been to come out with miracles and predictions. This would have settled the point. In this manner the prophets of the Lord did settle the point of dispute between them and their audiences. They acted on this plain principle: claims to supernatural powers demand supernatural proofs. We come in the name of the Lord Jesus. We bring his gospel to you. We declare that our message is from the court of heaven. We bring you proofs. Bring hither your lame, and your blind, and your deaf, and we shall heal them. Bring out your demoniacs, and we shall cast out the demons by the power of Jesus Christ. Bring up your dead, and in his name we shall restore them alive to your arms. Or they raised their voice with "*thus saith the Lord:*" and spoke to remote ages: and delivered to the church a testimony that blossomed afresh in every succeeding generation. They disclosed a long line of prophecies, which were accomplished in the evolutions of Providence. And every new generation thus witnessed fresh proofs of their divine commission. All this they did: and they sustained the high character of ambassadors from God to men.

But the founders of this sect who rival the claims and honours of the apostles and prophets, brought no proofs of this nature. They were asked for the proofs of authority from heaven to support their new gospel; they offered laboured and wordy declamations; they annoyed human patience with black letter syllogism, or they prosed men to death with their dull lectures; or they terrified the superstitious by prophetic maledictions. They brought no miracles; they offered no prophecies of great and holy events to come!

Penn was evidently perplexed with this dilemma. Constrained

by his good sense to admit that "miracles are the only evidence of revelations, he would nevertheless insist that there were some prophets who did not work any miracles:*—Ay! but they predicted future events. He was aware of this also, and floundering through an argument that sunk under him at every step—out he comes at last, in a sullen mood, very unexpectedly in behalf of signs supernatural. "Miracles," said he, "are ceased only as visions are ceased; that is, only to those who have no faith. Some have known, and some do know the power of taking up their sick beds and walking; their faith made them whole."† Yes! and they have their miracles on register—ay! and signs marvellous, as the omen attending the death of that "*demon of wisdom, that divine man,*" and progenitor of the society, Plotinus. "Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici!"‡

* Vol. ii. p 38.

† Vol. ii. p. 39.

‡ "A small serpent that had been concealed under his bed wandered through a hole in the wall, and disappeared!" This is recorded by Taylor (Plat. Phil. vol. ii. p. 218, quarto) who laboured to put down "superstition," and to revive paganism, in A. D. 1793. Fox Jour. has a register of miracles. See his Index "*Miracles, spirit of discerning, visions, rain, &c.*" A priest "*went mad*" in the pulpit because he spoke against their inward light. It would have been something more worthy and clever if he had restored the man to his senses. A woman was tormented by a spirit of distraction; George bade her be quiet and still. In process of time she mended. Myers with the *lame arm* sat once before him; George cried with a reasonably loud voice, stand up on *thy legs;* and his arm was made whole. It made no difference with George; had the man's foot been lame, George would have commanded him to stretch out his arm, and his foot would probably have been restored. The unfortunate Jay fell from his horse and broke his neck. George wrung it round to its place, and the man soon pursued his journey. He gives us only these moderate samples; but the "*devils were made subject,*" and other things took place which he does not record "*because this unbelieving age is not able to receive them nor bear them.*" (vol. i. p. 118.) What a morsel would this have been for Hume's Essay on Miracles. The industrious man has, with infinite pains, gleaned from the pages of the pagans and Romanists certain marvellous acts and things, the rivals of our Lord's miracles. He has there the wonders of the Paphlagonian, and of the emperor Vespasian. He has there,the holy oil of Saragossa, that *only made a fresh natural limb spring out like a mushroom from the old stump;* and he has there the gossip stories of the tomb of the Abbè Paris.* And he has not one case from George Fox! Great men have not always their wits about them; neither had Hume; had he thrown the shield of such miracles as those of Fox, on his open flank, would he have fallen so soon by the steel of Campbell?

* Hume's Essay on Mir. and Campbell's Refutation, part 2. sect. 4.

But the prophets of the society have grown wiser. Time and experience have brought the healing conviction that neither miracles nor predictions are at their controul; and hence, like common men they descend into the arena and battle it with men by the dull weapons of reason and syllogism!*

Their defence of their favourite point is set up in two forms. First—"We bring no new gospel; we bring only that which was confirmed by the miracles of Christ and his apostles. You cannot demand miracles of us. All that we advance we can make good from the scriptures.† In this brief sentence there are three errors. 1st. They do bring a new gospel;‡ and the very terms "*immediate objective revelations*" imply that new matter is brought to the inspired mind; if there is not, there can be no propriety in using these terms on this subject. 2d. Individual claims to such gifts must have individual proofs. The miracles of our Lord and his apostles can no more establish the claims of modern *inspirati*, than the proofs of David's royal authority can those of John of Munster to be king of Zion in Germany! 3d. It is great extravagance to offer a text to prove a personal fact. "We are apostles, and we will prove it by a text!" We may on the same principles expect to hear a tailor quote Plato to prove that he is an expert and fashionable tailor! But seriously, the society believe that those revelations are not to be subjected to the test of scripture, as to something more certain. Pray, how can they venture on a proof of them from scripture? and in reference to the matter of these revelations, it is in the Bible, or it is not; if it is, there is no necessity of becoming apostles and prophets to find it out. If it is not, it is of the angel of darkness, and comes under the fearful malediction of the departing spirit of prophecy. "*If any man shall add to these things, God shall add to him the plagues that are written in this book.*§

Their second mode of defence. We distinguish between the

* When Penn entered the lists against Reeves and Muggleton, the notorious rivals of the early Quakers, he insisted upon *visible miracles* to confirm their divine commission. Penn, vol. ii. p. 178.

† Apol. Prop. ii. sect. 12, p. 310, and Penn vol. ii. p. 48, contrasted with his contradiction of this in p. 61 and p. 241.

‡ See chap. vii. following in proof of this.

§ Revel. xxii. 18.

thesis and hypothesis. It is one thing to say that revelations are certain and infallible; and another thing to affirm that such a person, or such a people, has them. The first *only* is asserted by us, say the Friends: the last may be questioned.*

This disingenuous shifting of the questions by Barclay, does in fact, upset their own theory, and it resolves the whole question under discussion into these truisms. Revelations are revelations; what comes from God does surely come from him; infallible is infallible, and that which is certain is certain! The whole sect cries out against this. Their proud claims to infallible inspirations were the chief causes of the severe sufferings of their forefathers. Fox cries out against him; his every motion, as well of body as of mind, was guided by these. Their ministry cry out against him; they were "inspired by that which gave out the scriptures," and "by this power of the Lord they were to throw down teachings, and churches and worship."† Penn cries out against him; his whole career was enlightened by them.‡ Barclay's theory cries out against it;§ nay to crown the climax of absurdity, the good man of Ury himself, so far from giving up personal claims on this point, does actually plant himself by the side of John the apostle, and does claim for his writings what John did for his. "What I have heard with the ears of my soul," says Barclay, "and seen with my inward eyes, and my hands have handled of the word of life, and *what hath been inwardly manifested to me of the things of God, that do I declare.*"‖

In short there is not a book sanctioned by the society, that does not claim the honours of revelation. And there is not a preacher, of either sex, who does not come forward before the

* Bar. Apol. Prop. ii. sect. 13.

† Fox's Jour. i. p. 358.

‡ And the following rare specimen will show what ideas he entertained of his brother prophets. A writer had held up to public execration the curses of one of their prophets against the ministry of the Episcopal church, and had remarked that such language could not proceed from a christian. Penn replied, "Though they were a thousand times more sharp against that accursed stock of hirelings, *they had been but enough, and I would then say not enough; but that the reverence I bear to the Holy Spirit would oblige me to acquiesce in whatever he should utter through any prophet or servant of the Lord.*" Penn, vol. ii. p. 70.

§ His. Thes. and prop. ii.

‖ Apol. Ded. and Epist. to the reader.

public with the most perfect conviction, that he is as much inspired as Isaiah or Paul was; and that what he is about to utter, is of as much weight as the messages of Isaiah or of Paul. Every Quaker knows this. There is a perfect understanding on this point between the preachers and the body of the people. They practise on it daily. They carry it into the common forms of speaking. When a favourite prophet comes and announces himself, he offers no promises of a discourse. He announces a meeting. He can do no more. Neither he, nor any of them can divine what they shall hear, nor whether they shall hear any thing. It is not certain that there shall be an impulse. And if there should be, he has no assurance that it will light on him, in preference to the humblest handmaid of the meeting!

§ 5. Besides the radical defects of these main arguments, the following will exhibit a specimen of the palpable errors in the conducting of their argument in defence of their revelations.

1. They invariably confound the special influences of the Spirit with his supernatural or physical gifts. They set out to prove that they have the revelations of the ancient prophets. And they prove what no christian ever denied, that the Spirit of God rests in his influences on every good man. They profess to mount on the same wing with Isaiah and Paul. Their waxen wings give way, and they crawl disabled on the earth.* The fact is, while they maintain their opinions by assertions bold and stiff, they always contrive, in the argument, to shift the main difficulty of the question.—Penn and Barclay tell us, with a flourish, that they will establish the certainty and infallibility of their revelations. The latter after struggling into the difficulty, comes out, and with infinite modesty tells us, that he makes no personal claims for themselves. (Though by the way, we have seen that he writes by inspiration.) There *are* revelations. He does not say that *they* have them. "*The question is not, who are, or who are not led; but whether all ought, and may be guided by the Spirit.*"† And thus all the machinery, and the whole battery of syllogism, are put into their heavy operation to defend a position that not even a

* Apol. Prop. ii. sect. 1, 4, 5, 6, and Penn vol. ii. p. 61.
† Apol. p. 67.

king's fool would have attacked: namely, *infallibility is where it is, and certain revelations are with him who has certain revelations.* And the former, having planted himself in a sure position, and in a most threatening attitude, exhausts all his strength in beating the air; turning his back on the Quaker position, he puts forth all the powers of reason, and employs thirty nine texts of sacred writ, and spends nineteen quarto pages to prove that the Holy Spirit is "*certain and infallible in his operations.*"* It does not appear to have struck him that he ought to prove that *they* possessed those infallible gifts of the Spirit. That is left to the good-natured reader's gratuitous conclusion!

2. They use, as synonymous terms, words that convey very different ideas. They confound, for instance, the terms spirit and law, and guide; cause and object; form and matter; light and grace and Christ. These are jumbled together on their mystic pages, and produce an effect like that which must have taken place at the confusion of tongues at Babel. "The spirit is the rule;" "the light is the rule;" "Christ is the light;" "Christ in us is the only word of God, and is our rule;" "objective revelations are the spirit:" "the spirit is the object of revelation."† There is a double error in all this; it is impious—it is absurd. The impiety consists in its bringing up their heresy, which confounds the sacred persons of the most Holy Trinity, and which reduces the sacred person of the Son, and the sacred person of the Holy Ghost into a single virtue, or a grace. The absurdity lies in making not the revelations of the spirit, but the Spirit himself the *only rule.* And it is as glaring as the political absurdity would be of constituting a rule of civil conduct—not out of the law, but out of the persons who framed the law; and of declaring to the citizens that it is not the code of laws by which they must regulate their conduct, and to the judges that they must not judge according to the law; "*Those are but paper and ink.*" The rule of your actions is *the souls and bodies of the legislators who framed the law!*

3. They fly in the face of the clearest facts; they lay it down

* Penn vol. ii. p. 96, &c.

† Penn vol. ii. p. 106, and Apol. Prop. ii. sect. 5, compared with the Thesis on the Script. and Prop. v. and vi.

as a fundamental principle, that God spake immediately to every individual of the Jewish worshippers; and that they all had immediate revelations for the object of their faith.* They destroy the distinction between mediate and immediate. "God spake to all immediately." How? Because "God spake to them through the High Priest;" because his Spirit rested on the seventy; because two men prophesied in the camp; because Moses expressed a wish that all the people might also prophesy! Yes, because the Spirit rested on the prophets, he rested on the people: because God spake immediately to *some*, therefore he spake immediately to *all!* And Barclay, who loves the rare and the sublime, insists, that because God is omnipresent, therefore all men have his revelations!† And, thence, by a form of logic unheard of from the days of the Stagirite, he argues, that as *all the Jews* had revelations immediately from God, *all men now may have them*: and because all men may have them, all men now do have them. There is no saying where this logic may stop. We shall certainly hear another class of men, who have got their brains turned, not by *theology*, but by *politics*, beginning to harangue us thus:— It is unquestionably true that David was a king; therefore all his people were kings: and because all the Jews were kings, *all may be kings now:* and because they may be kings, therefore all men *now* are kings. Another may, in the same manner, make it out, that like David we are all *psalmists!*

4. The principles which they adopt respecting faith, lead to errors of the most serious nature. The *sole object* of the faith of the saints they make to be *immediate revelations*.‡ They reject the usual division of faith into different kinds: they confound the different classes of faith: they admit only one kind.§ Moreover

* Apol. p. 46.

† Apol. p. 46, 47 and 67.

‡ Apol. Prop. ii. Assert. 5, p.

§ "There can no more be *two faiths than there can be two Gods.*" Bar. Apol. Prop. ii. sect. 19, p. 51. The term faith besides being used in a figurative sense for the subject of belief, as in Jude ver. 3, and in 1 Tim. iii. 9, is used in four different senses in sacred writ, to describe an exercise of the mind. 1. There is a temporary faith; Math. xiii. 20, 21. 2. Historical faith: This is found in wicked men; Acts viii. 13. And in devils, James ii. 19. 3. The faith of miracles, 1 Cor. xiii. 2. Sometimes found in wicked characters, Matth. vii. 22, 23. 4. Saving faith, Eph. ii. 8. Now that expression of the Apostle, (Eph. iv. 5) "*There is one faith,*" on which B. founds his opinion, may be applied with perfect truth to each of these classes. The men who have the first kind, may say, "we have

they lay down this principle, that every one who has had faith, must have had immediate revelations; and of course they admit the converse, every one who has had these revelations, has had faith: and as their system admits of only one faith, they must all have had the same true or common faith.

Now let us see whither these principles will carry us. *First;* The object of our faith now is the same as that of the prophets; and they make no distinction between the saving faith of the prophets considered as saints, and their belief as prophets in the divinity of the messages with which they were changed. The one and common object of their faith they make to be immediate revelations. Now, on this principle of the sect, the object of faith is not our Redeemer: it is not his atoning blood: it is some direct impulse simply. No one knows what may be the substance of it: nor is that of any consequence. It is the *revealing* that is the object of faith. It is *not* on the *subject* of the message that faith terminates; it is only on the *form* and *manner* in which the subject is brought forward. We believe not in the matter, but in the manner in which it is told! When the shepherds heard the angels announcing the birth of Christ, it was not his birth they believed. "Immediate revelation, such as that of the prophets, was the only *object* of their faith."* They believed in the supernatural manner only, in which that birth was declared. Do they deny this? Then those to whom the shepherds told their revelations, not having immediate revelations, had no object of faith. They could not believe.

Second. There is only "one faith." But the devil also "believes and trembles." He has, therefore, the same faith with the best of men, and is as much a believer, in the same sense, as they are; and, like them, he has at every act of faith a *fresh impulse, an immediate revelation from heaven!*

Third. "Every one who has faith, has immediate revelations like the prophets and apostles:†" but all the true members of the

one faith." All the "*devils who believe and tremble,*" can say "we have one faith." So may the persons who possessed the third class; and (what is the true meaning of the text) all true christians have "*one Lord and one faith*" by which they all, in the same manner, receive by an appropriating act, their common Lord and Saviour.

* Bar. Prop. ii. Assert. 5. † Apol. p. 47.

Jewish and of the Christian church had faith. Hence, on these principles, every member had specifically the same inspirations as those who were endowed with the highest gifts. All were prophets like Isaiah; all apostles like Paul! Why then did the people wait on the prophecyings of Isaiah? why did the king of Israel send to consult a prophet? why did the equally inspired bear with the written epistles, "*the dead letter*" of Paul. They had what he had. "Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale."*

Fourth. "Every one who has these revelations has faith, and there is only 'one faith.'" Hence Balaam, who unquestionably had true revelations, was as much a believer as Moses! and those persons "who had prophesied in Christ's name, and had cast out devils, and had done many wonderful works,"† were as good men as those in heaven, and yet were rejected by Christ. "Depart from me, for I *never knew you*."

Fifth. Some of their chief principles are supported by reasoning in a circle. Barclay's proof of one main point, and one on which he had put forth all his strength, is a fair specimen of this.‡ He is going to prove that they have revelations specifically the same with those of the prophets. He lays down this premise—"Our faith is the same as theirs." This, if spoken of saving faith, is unquestionably true; but that is not in point. He is not on that subject. He is to make good the assertion, that "the *object* of the prophets' faith is immediate revelations, and that these are still continued to men." His argument is this: Where the faith is one, the object of the faith is one; but the faith is one, therefore the object of their faith and of our faith is one.

Now the essential act of this faith of which he speaks, consists in the man's receiving with a holy assurance immediate revelations from God: and our faith being, in these principles, specifically the same, must of course consist in the act of receiving new revelations from God. Hence, Barclay's argument is rounded off into this circle. In as much as we do, like the prophets, receive immediate revelations, we do have immediate revelations!

* Bar. Thes. iii.
† Math. vii. 22, 23.
‡ Prop. ii. and Assert. v.

Sixth. The writers of this sect assume higher ground than that which was taken by the apostles of our Lord. St. Paul, the very chiefest of the apostles, submitted his inspired epistles to the examination of those who had the Spirit, and calls on them to "*acknowledge that the things which he wrote were the commandments of the Lord.*"* But these modern apostles, not worthy to "stoop down and unloose the latchet of his buskins, do give us no predictions, no miracles; and they will not permit us to subject their effusions 'to the test of reason, or of scripture, as a superior rule.'"†

And what is more, they claim for the individuals of their sect more than was ever vouchsafed to the members of the primitive church in her most glorious times. Only a few possessed the gifts of the Holy Ghost; only a few were blessed with immediate revelations, even at that eventful period when the prophecy of Joel was accomplished.‡ But with them none are excluded from immediate revelations. With them every believer has them; with them "all are apostles, all are prophets."§

Last. The society of Friends, setting aside with cold disdain, the common means of grace and the special influences of the Spirit, and placing themselves wholly under the care of immediate objective revelations, presents to view a singular spectacle, an anomaly in the ecclesiastical world, perfectly novel and romantic! An anomaly as extraordinary as would be a world in which the human mind arrived at perfection in knowledge, without one of the ordinary means, and by a single act of Omnipotence. An anomaly as extraordinary as a government of Providence would be, out of which all secondary causes were banished, and where every event was brought to pass by the immediate acts of Omnipotence, embodying its energies in the form of a continuous succession of miracles!

This outline will convey an idea of the manner in which Penn

* 1 Cor. xiv. 37. See the translation of the passage by M'Knight, vol. iv. p. 10. and vol. ii. p. 118, 119, Bost. edit.

† A genuine revelation was deemed by the church inferior to that portion of the scriptures already given; until it had established itself by unequivocal evidence. Then it was on a footing of perfect equality with the rest.

‡ Joel ii. 28. Acts ii. 16.

§ Apol. Prop. ii. sect. 11.

and Barclay have laboured on the chief article in their system, and yet nobody wonders that such authors have not found their oblivion. The writings of all chief sectaries became a text book and a kind of bible to their disciples. It has ever been so; it is nothing new and nothing strange. The Romanists lock up the Bible and pour on the ignorant mob a flood of oral traditions and legends. The Brahmins have supported the Shaster for a thousand years: and the gold and devotion of the Mohammedans have preserved the Koran for twelve centuries!

§ 6.—But the importance of this subject will not permit us to rest satisfied with negative argument. It is possible to demonstrate that these revelations are unnecessary, and in fact, have no existence.

First, divine truth was revealed to the great body of the church in the brightest days of prophets and apostles in no way different from that in which it is revealed to us, and with precisely the same evidence.

In the days of the most plentiful outpouring of the Holy Ghost, a few individuals only possessed his extraordinary gifts, and the body of the people were instructed by these. It is a matter of historical fact that all were *not* prophets—*not* apostles. It is equally an historical fact that the people received their instructions from no other source than from the men charged with divine messages. Hence it is evident that the body of the people did *not* receive truth *immediately* from God.

When those prophets who were charged with a commission, brought forward their message to the church, it was by words audibly pronounced; or it was by words committed to writing, or it was by both. And when the church received their messages as the commands of the living God, there was some formal and sufficient reason for her faith. The matter revealed could not be the *sole* cause, inducing her belief. No created being is competent to sit in judgment on this, and pronounce what materials ought to constitute a message from the court of heaven. He has no standard within his reach; it comes not within the range of human experience. The message may, and does certainly carry intrinsic proofs of its divine origin; yet this cannot be the *whole* cause or reason of its reception by the church.

Nor could this reception be procured by the *form* or the *manner* in which they were presented originally to the mind of the prophet himself. There are two arguments to establish this. 1. The evidence growing out of all circumstances of this kind, (always supposing them not to have been made to them in public with certain tokens) could be felt only by the minds of the inspired. And personal and secret experiences are no proofs to a second person. 2. To suppose that the faith of a prophet in his own revelations was founded merely in the form and manner in which they were received, is to suppose that the adversary of God and man does not put forth his powers in counterfeiting the usual forms of revelation, and it is to suppose that a prophet could never be deceived by any species of delusion. The prophet's faith in his own revelation could be founded only on a certain intimation, divinely impressed on his mind, that these communications were truly from God. Hence the veracity of God is the only ground or formal object of the prophet's belief in his own revelations, and not the *form* or *manner* in which they were presented to his mind; and that which could not be the formal object of their faith, cannot be the formal object of the faith of their followers.* Hence the ground of the church's faith in the messages from the court of heaven, was the divine authority and veracity, expressed in the solemn call "*Thus saith the Lord;*" and certified by that evidence external and internal, with which divine truth is presented to the human mind.

Now if such be the manner in which truth was imparted to the great body of the people, and if such was the formal reason or cause of their faith in it, it could make no difference whether it was laid before them by the words, or by the writings of the inspired. If by their writings, it could be of no consequence whether the writing was the original autograph, or an authentic copy of it. If the copy be authentic it matters not whether it be a first transcript, or the thousandth.

Hence it is evident, that to us in these times, divine truth is communicated in a manner entirely the same as that in which it

* Barclay himself did acknowledge this when his mind was freed from its momentary bias in favour of his system. See Apol. p. 50, top, though it is admitted to the outrage of consistency.

was conveyed to them who lived in the ages of prophecy and of miracle. And we possess evidence substantially the same; we have all that testimony and evidence which led the fathers to build their faith on the divine veracity. If we want their miracles, we have at least the *protracted miracles* gradually developing before our eyes in the evolutions of Providence fulfilling the prophecies. And hence were the scriptures obliterated; and did the age of prophecy and of miracle dawn once more on us; did prophets and apostles begin anew to open to us the councils of heaven, and fill up the canon of scripture; we and the Friends should not enjoy a single benefit of a higher nature than we do now possess. We should receive divine truths by revelations, not immediately from God, but through the inspired few, who would demonstrate their authority by miracles. And the veracity and authority of Almighty God would be, as it *really now is*, the formal ground of our faith and obedience. Hence the immediate revelations of the Friends are entirely unnecessary.

Second. They form no part of the elemental principles of the christian character, and they are, therefore, not necessary to salvation. That the Holy Ghost operates immediately on the human mind by the secret influences which he puts forth, and that these influences are essential to salvation, are doctrines which we have always advocated. But that the revelations of the Friends are essential to salvation, is a doctrine utterly inadmissible.

Of the elemental principles constituting the good man's character, they never, at any time, formed a part; they are distinct from faith, which consists in "receiving and resting on Jesus Christ for eternal safety, as he is offered in the gospel." They are distinct from love, from hope, from repentance, from the practice of holiness. The men whom the Holy Ghost selected and made prophets and apostles were employed as instruments merely to announce his messages to men. This official character had no necessary dependance on their moral and religious character. They might be good men; they certainly were, with a few exceptions, the best of men; they might have been bad men. As it regards merely the delivering of a message, a profligate servant may, and often really does deliver his lord's in-

structions as accurately as a good servant will. A conduit of the coarsest materials will convey the pure and limpid stream as fully as if constructed of golden pipes.

As it respects that part of the prophetical office which consisted in uttering the predictions, I presume the point will not be contested. It must be very evident that that act of infinite sovereignty which draws aside the curtain that conceals futurity, and which places before a man's view a succession of remote events, is essentially different from that act whereby He "*creates us anew in Christ Jesus.*" By the former, the man was put in possession of something not for personal use, but for the public benefit of the church: by the latter he is made the subject of a work terminating on his own soul: by the former, certain powers of the mind, especially the memory, is made the receptacle of knowledge, and by it as a channel, the fertilizing streams are poured over the church: in the latter the Holy Ghost puts forth his plastic energies over the whole mind, and produces "*the new creature.*"

And as it respects the uttering of revealed doctrines, the point is no less clear, for three reasons. 1. Even the pious prophets did not, merely by virtue of their prophetical office, always understand the meaning of the doctrines which they revealed to the church. On the contrary, after they had delivered them to the people, they searched diligently into their meaning, and under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, they arrived, as we do, at the same knowledge of the truth.

The following is our authority for this assertion. "*Of which salvation the prophets have enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you; searching what, and what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ who was in them, did signify; when it testified before-hand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow, unto whom it was revealed that* . . . . . &c."*

It is here distinctly stated that the prophets did receive the doctrines of truth by inspiration; that they were fully qualified by this means, to deliver them to the church; but that, nevertheless, they did not fully comprehend their meaning; that in order to arrive at this "*they searched diligently*" into what "*the Spirit*

* 1. Pet. i, 11, 12.

who was in them did signify." In other words, they searched into the doctrines of the gospel *already revealed*, and into "*the manner of time*" in which the event of Christ's sufferings should be accomplished. And upon this diligent investigation of "*their own doctrines*," they received another "*revelation*," which we call the special guidance and instruction of the Holy Ghost, by which they obtained, as every christian does obtain, a clear and believing view of the truth.

2. In addition to this argument, there are historical facts of great weight. There have been *true prophets*, (because they had divine revelations made to them) who yet were utterly destitute of the grace of God. Balaam was an impious man, and he was unquestionably a true prophet. The scriptures do pronounce him a prophet. He predicted remote events which were accurately accomplished.* He uttered divine truth in its usual style of sublimity. He prophesied of the "*star that should arise out of Jacob, and the sceptre out of Israel, who should have dominion.*" This, as is evident from the light thrown on it by parallel passages, cannot be referred to any other than "*the morning star*" Jesus Christ, who has dominion over all things.†

3. Our Lord has set this matter to rest. He has declared that in the day of final retribution, there will be on his left hand men who not only *prophesied*, but who added the evidence of miracles to their words. "*Many shall say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name; and in thy name cast out devils; and in thy name done many wonderful works. And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you.*" (He could not have said this, had they ever, at any time, been in the possession of grace.) "*Depart from me ye that work iniquity.*"‡ Hence, if in the elements of his character, the good man possessed nothing more than what may be found in the "*mere prophet*," then he has not one virtue or grace more to discriminate him from the ungodly, than what Balaam and such as Balaam did possess. "*Though I have the gift of prophecy*," says St. Paul, "*and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and though I have all faith, so that I could*

* Bishop Newton on the Proph. vol. i. Dissert. v.

† Scott's Comment. on Numb. xxiv. 17. And particularly Henry on that place.

‡ Math. vii. 22.

remove mountains, and have not charity," (that is true love to God and man) "*I am nothing.*"*

Third. Their revelations are brought forward without evidence, and they are therefore uncertain and unprofitable. In the experience of the true prophet, there was attached to every one of his revelations a certain irresistible evidence that it is from God. By this form of evidence, whatever it was, they could as certainly, and as easily, at least, distinguish the voice of God from that of a deceiver, as we can the voice of a friend from that of a stranger. But this species of evidence could not be useful to any but the prophet himself. It could not be laid down as a basis of that faith which he demanded for his messages from the court of heaven. It is invisible to us; it is not felt by us; it can produce no faith in us; and he who can suppose that it can, he who comes forward with lofty claims, and divine messages, and new systems, and appeals to no higher evidence than to certain inward feelings, is an impostor and a knave: he insults our understandings; he deems us capable of being duped by the weakest artifices.

Now, admitting that the Friends have all that they claim; admitting that their revelations are to them "clear and evident in themselves," these revelations are radically different from the special work of the Divine Spirit in the human mind; and hence they are not necessary to their salvation, and they cannot be made useful to others without evidence; and *that only* evidence which can carry conviction into the heart, I mean prediction and miracle, the substantial evidence to which all good men look, and to which every truly inspired man always successfully resorted, is invariably declined by *every one of the inspired of the society*, and for the best reasons in the world. They have never had the possession of the one nor of the other. Heaven, deaf to the voice of their prophets and apostles, has not lent them one prophecy, no, nor one solitary miracle to this day! Hence, their revelations are, in the eyes of the church, without proof, unprofitable and useless.

Fourth. Holy revelations have fully accomplished their end,

* 1 Cor. xiii. 2.—See Dr. Owens examination of this point in his book on the Spirit vol. 1. book ii. Ch. 1. Sect. 17, 18. And in his Discourse on the Holy Spirit and his gifts. Ch. 2.

and are withdrawn forever. The end proposed to be accomplished by them, was the completion of the sacred canon of scripture. This has been done. Each book, delivered by the inspirations of the Holy Ghost, is supported by innate and historical evidence; and though bound up in one volume, each book of the Old and New Testaments is not only full and complete in the weight of its own evidence, but, in like manner as the classic authors are produced to establish the authenticity of each other, these books of the sacred scriptures contain irresistible evidence of the authenticity and divinity of each other. All the books that were delivered to the church with these proofs of divine origin, are placed in the canon. The canon is complete and perfect.* It was delivered to the church "to make men wise unto salvation." The Spirit of God has denounced a curse on those who shall "add to it, or who shall take away from it;"† and every immediate revelation does either add to revealed truth, or is utterly unnecessary.

Fifth. The entire withdrawing of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost affords us ample proof that immediate revelations are closed. Divine inspiration was the loftiest and certainly the most important of all the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit. It was the channel by which God conveyed his will to man; and, indeed, all the other miraculous endowments were designed simply to confirm the truth of this one. They were all directed to this point, to establish to the conviction of men, that those revelations which were brought forward were from God. This was the end of the miracles of our Lord, the great prophet of the church. "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me."‡ And it was the end of the miracles wrought by those who were charged with his commissions.§

But every miraculous gift is withdrawn. We have the testimony of our senses to confirm this; and the Almighty would not

* It is foreign from my purpose to enter into a discussion on the sacred canon. Consult on this subject Prideaux Connect. vol. ii. p. 102, 411, &c. Jones' Canon Author. of the New Test. Blair's Canon of Script. Dr. Owen's Comment. on the Heb. Introd. Dick on Inspir. See also Chalmer on the Histor. Evid. of the Bible.

† Prov. xxx. 6. Revel. xxii. 18, &c.

‡ John x. 25.

§ Mark xvi. 20.

have withdrawn the secondary gifts, if the primary, which required their support, still remained. We have, therefore, the evidence of our senses, that objective revelations are withdrawn from the church.

Lastly. The doctrine of the Friends has no foundation in any of those passages of holy scripture which they adduce in proof of it.* It might be enough simply to say, that each of these texts which they quote, refers either to the special influences of the Spirit, or to his miraculous gifts. If to the former, then we have gained our point, and the dispute is at an end. If to the latter, the Friends gain nothing from this, unless they can prove that all men were invested with these miraculous powers; that "all were prophets—" that all were apostles;" that none were taught *mediately* by inspired teachers. But in every age of inspiration, these gifts were vouchsafed only to a few; and the fact that these gifts were conferred *then* on a few *only*, ought surely not to be quoted in proof *that all men now have them.* Nothing but miraculous powers can bear the friends out in their extraordinary claims.

I shall close with a review of their exposition of three passages of sacred writ, which have been called, with some degree of assurance, "*The Quaker texts.*" And this, it is to be hoped, will be a sufficient specimen of the manner in which other texts are to be redeemed from similar abuses.

1. "This is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; my Spirit that is on thee, and my words which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord from henceforth and forever."†

It is evident‡ that these are the words of the Father to the Son on behalf of his spiritual seed. They contain a double promise. First: That the Spirit who rested on "the Redeemer," shall never leave his "seed." Second: That the words put into "the Redeemer's mouth shall never depart from the mouth of his seed," nor of "his seed's seed." There is no intimation that the

* Such as Jerem. xxxi. 31. Joel ii. 28, 29. Heb. viii. 10. 1 John ii. 27. Bar. Apol. Prop. ii. sect. 11, 12.

† Jer. lix. 21.

‡ From verse 20.

Spirit will, by an immediate interposition, put words into their mouths. "The words which I have put into thy (Christ's) mouth, shall not depart out of the mouth of thy seed." It is a truth not to be contested in this day of light and triumphant demonstration, that we possess an authentic copy of his words, written by men from his lips. And no "immediate revelation" can do more than what this authentic copy actually does, in keeping them "in our lips."

The gross abuse of this passage by Penn and Barclay merits the severest reprehension. To give it a turn to their own purpose the one quotes it thus: "*I will pour out my Spirit on thee, and on thy seed and thy seed's seed to all generations.*" And the other models it into this form to be the basis of his syllogism: "*My word, I even I, saith the Lord, have put into your mouth.*"* And from this *forgery* he draws the conclusion that as "the Spirit puts words into their lips," they were certainly inspired. Had this bold deed of altering a clause in the *Testament* of God Almighty, been practised on a human instrument, the perpetrators would have been declared guilty of felony, by the laws of every civilized state.

2. "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things;" "and ye need not that any man teach you."† If ever there were a period in which these happy times and conditions were fully enjoyed by individuals and by the church, it was during the extraordinary effusion of the Holy Ghost in the apostle's days. Did we take the sense imposed on these sacred passages as the sense of the apostles, then every one to whom they addressed themselves, was possessed of immediate revelations. All were prophets, all were apostles, and none were taught by the lips of inspired men. If christians had "the anointing" in this sense, the conduct of the apostles was utterly inexplicable. Why did they teach? all had the teacher within. Why did they preach? all had the light within. Why write epistles? why did John write these words to tell them about "the anointing?" They all had the word in perfection within.

I cannot yield to the learned critic,‡ and refer this "anointing"

* Penn vol. ii. p. 494 note. Barcl. Prop. ii. sect. 11, p. 63.
† 1 John ii. 20 and 27, add to this Joel ii. 28, 29. Jer. xxxi. 31.
‡ Dr. M'Knight's new Trans. of the Epist. in loco.

and "this knowing all things to the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost in this discerning of Spirits." Let us place before our minds the context. We shall perceive that the apostle is referring to the doctrines which he had been inculcating on the attention of the church, and is pointing to the "anti-christs" which "had gone out from them."—"Ye have the anointing—ye need not that any man teach you." You are no strangers to our doctrines; they are in the lips of all the faithful; you need none of the teachings of these men—these false teachers—these pretenders to inspirations. You have the instructions of the apostles, by word and epistle; you have the anointing of the Spirit: and those perceptions of truth which you have thence acquired, set you above the necessity, and above the seducing influences of the teachings of these false prophets. This simple exposition makes the practice and the doctrine of the apostle consistent and harmonious.

But if the Friends will insist on the literal meaning, then we will act on the offensive; we will turn on them and say: Be it so, that these christians to whom John wrote had inspirations in the fullest measure—be it so, that they, all men, women and children were prophets and apostles:—what will that prove in your favour? Does that prove that *moderns*—that *you* have these inspirations? Prove you that you are divinely led! Bring forth your miracles! Pronounce your prophecies.—No! you have none! Then you are self-convicted.

Last, and that which is the burden of every Quaker's sermon. "*The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.*" Εκαστω δε διδοται η φανερωσις του Πνευματος προς τον συμφερον."* Under the term "φανερωσις" "*manifestation,*" is comprised the different gifts of the Holy Ghost.† The term literally taken signifies the *active manifestation by proof.* It implies the power and faculty of declaring by doctrine, and of demonstrating by deeds, that the person has the Holy Ghost.‡ It is a gift entrusted to men "προς

* 1 Cor. xii. 7. We are pained at hearing this text almost universally quoted by the Quaker preachers thus: "a *measure* of the Spirit, &c." And not unfrequently is it written in this manner, "a measure of the Spirit is given." Which completely alters the meaning.

† See Dr. Owen on the Spir. vol. ii. ch. 1. sect. 11.

‡ See Schleusneri Lexicon in voce.

τον συμφερον ;" "for the good or benefit,"* that is of the church.† This gift was bestowed not on all, but on "each" "ἑκαστῳ." For it is to be referred to the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit only.‡ And these gifts, it is evident, were not conferred on "all" without discrimination.

Hence the meaning of the passage is this: *The extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were given to each man chosen to extraordinary services, to demonstrate that their messages were from God, and, therefore, were for the common good.*

Now, what advantage does the Quaker cause gain from this? In what manner can they shape an argument out of it? These gifts of the Holy Ghost were given to select men in those ages to which we refer. Does this offer any proof that inspirations are given to *all men now indiscriminately?* The individuals who actually possessed these gifts, demonstrated the divinity of their commission by miraculous powers. Will that prove that the equally high claims of the Quakers need not these domonstrations? On what principles are we called upon to yield our faith to these pretenders, who bring no evidence, when the church of old would yield to no claims, not even to those of an apostle, without miracles? We can give no credit to them, for they lay down no foundation for faith to rest upon. They claim the Holy Ghost; but they have no "φανερωσις," no *manifestation of his presence*, by *his* gifts. No man can be a believer in their revelations without renouncing his reason: and there is not a man of reflection in the society who would not laugh in his sleeve at the simpleton who would believe without evidence, and with the deistical Pope who chuckled over the easy belief of his catholic subjects, would exclaim "*A fine fabrication this—which has proved so lucrative to us!*"

* See Schleus. and Stockius in voc. συμφερον.
† As is evident from 1 Cor. xiv. 2, 5.
‡ As the next verse (8) fully declares, *and as every Quaker admits.*

CHAPTER II.

ON THE CHARACTER OF THEIR SILENT WORSHIP.

"The funde of the soule is the secretest part of the soul. In this funde God begets his sonne. Into this man must introvert, and drawe himself in, and sinck into this funde, and denude himself of all thoughts, words and deeds. There God poureth himself into our spirits. We dissolve in God and become pure, &c.

Tauler a Dominican of A. D. 1346.

"Deep from the vault the Loxian murmurs flow;
"And Pythias' awful voices peal below."

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§ 1. That blunt polemic, Brown of Wamphry, after having bestowed much attention on the form and theory of the silent worship of the Friends, exclaimed, that he had discovered in it "*plain vestiges of devilrie!*"*

If the spirit of the age has polished the genius of criticism, it has also smoothed down the rugged features of sectarianism. But whatever polish may be conveyed to the surface of these principles, their substantive form is the same.

We discover in the silent worship of the society singular phenomena, produced evidently by a rigid adherence to their leading tenet. Its moral and physical aspect is altogether extraordinary, and cannot fail to attract the notice of the philosopher who investigates the history of the human mind.

The society has excluded not only all that is venerable by antiquity, but what is sacred by the authority of our Lord. They have banished the holy scriptures from their assemblies. They are not permitted to be read there. They have excluded baptism and the Lord's supper; they have rejected *stated* prayers, and the singing of psalms. They have removed the distinction between the regular ministry and the flock. Their only ministry is composed of those straggling individuals whom a fortuitous impulse brings upon their floor. Each of them enters the assem-

* Pref. of his book.

bly with a weight of supernatural gifts and divine inspirations. Their elders take their stations in a conspicuous place, and possessing the hereditary gift "of discerning spirits,"* they sit as judges of what may be advanced. All remain covered according to the edicts given forth by their prophets.† But as soon as the "inspired is moved" to pray, the whole assembly, at one instant, *discerning the impulse of the spirit in the prophet*, harmoniously lay aside the hat, and all stand up. It is resumed when the impulse to pray is discontinued.‡ They sit with looks lowering downward on the ground, and "wait on the Lord." This "Lord is within them;" he is "in the fund of the soul." This, in the consecrated style of the Friends, is "that deep in which unity is known."§ Into this "fund" or abyss they descend; and, like so many Æneases descending into Tartarus, each has his guardian Sybil. Within this deep "they meet the Lord." This descent is called the act of "introversion." In it each puts forth all his energy in directing thither the whole current of his thoughts, in chaining down carnal wisdom, in silencing the whispers of reason, of passion, and appetite. During this deathlike slumber, this temporary suspension of judgment and reason, they turn into the presence of that "Lord who reigns in the fund of the soul." It bestirs itself, and on "the rising of this seed of the divine life," this inward lord, in awful, and solemn, and secret whisperings, dictates their duties, chides their offences, engages to amendment. It spends not all its strength in whispers: it puts forth active powers: it lays hold on the "evil seed within," and with terrible energy chains it down or hurls it from its lurking places.‖ Sometimes under the name of "virtuous life," it proceeds from the

* See Fox's Jour. i. 99, 220.

† See vol. i. sect. 25, and Fox's Jour. i. p. 113, and Penn vol. ii. p. 207.

‡ The female ministers, acting in marvellous consistency with the usurped power of their priesthood, uncover the head when they preach. Paul laid his injunction on females not to speak in the church, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. His argument is, that woman is subject to man as her head. 1 Cor. xi. 3. But to teach is to usurp authority. 1 Tim. ii. 12, &c. They must, therefore, not only remain silent, but covered, in token of this subjection. 1 Cor. xi. 7, 10, &c. As, therefore, they have refused the restraint of the apostle and of Christ, and have thrown off subjection to man as their head, they do very consistently throw off their covering, the *badge* and *token* of said subjection, when they are about to prophesy!

§ See S. Crisp's Serm. p. 127, Phil. ed.

‖ Bar. Prop. xl. passim, especially sect. 7 and 8.

ministry, and produces these effects; and what is more remarkable, "the very countenances as well as the words of the illiterate ministry," as Barclay assures us, "produced this exploit in him as well as in others."*

There is another phenomenon of a still more singular nature. On some occasions when the whole assembly are, by a singular coincidence of sentiment and feeling, "gathered into the life," and "have their minds centred in a degree of solemn quiet,"† this "lord rends through the meeting."‡ A general movement is produced; they experience secret refreshings, which none can feel but those who are "gathered into the seed;" and this is "without words ministered from vessel to vessel."§ And where a few stragglers may be "out of the life," by yielding to reason or to fancy, the rest, firm as the needle to the pole, feel a nameless sympathy, which in the appropriate nomenclature of their divines, is called "*drawings*" toward their brethren. They will travail as in birth for them. By the combined effort of the stronger brother and of the weaker brother the carnal Spirit is, by a powerful and secret process, decomposed, or precipitated, or held in solution. There is yet another phenomenon—when a mocker has chanced to come in during this awful silence, when so much was going on in the invisible world "*within;*" where "the life has been raised in a high measure," and the whole society has been charged with this powerful spirit, "the greatest terror has been struck into his soul."‖ Its shivering transports have glanced along his nerves like the electric shot from a Leyden, or a galvanic battery: or if the day of his "visitation should not have expired;" that means if the spectator be not too hardened to become a convert to these opinions, "it will reach the measure of grace within him and raise it up." Thus the wandering soul is often smitten by a brother "secretly without words;" and thus "one Friend is a midwife, through the secret travails of his soul, to bring forth the life in another, without words."¶

* Apol. Prop. x. sect. 23, p. 331.
† Com. of the annual meeting of Ireland, in 1803, and Rathbone's Nar. p. 140.
‡ Penn vol. ii. p. 205.
§ Apol. Prop. xi. sect. 6, p. 366.
‖ Apol. Prop. xi. sect. 7, p. 370.
¶ Apol. Prop. xi. sect. 7.

In some instances the society, like the devout audience of a Roman chapel, during the Latin service, has received "*refreshings*" from addresses in a foreign language. For instance, an English audience "*knew that one of the Dutch nation spoke by the Spirit, though in the Dutch language, which none of the meeting understood; because they all found refreshings.*"*

The society has often dwelt on the charms of their silent meetings. Their apologist's sober prose mounts into epic poetry, as he gives vent to his hosannahs.† It is evident that something of this kind must be contrived to play it off. During the painful rest of the body outwardly, some drama must be displayed within; for, as every simple christian perceives the grand characteristic ordinances of christianity to be removed from the meeting as completely as from the mosque; as this worship can be performed in all its parts as well without words as by words; as every individual avows the infallible guide of an inward light, the world could not, otherwise, have conceived any just reason that could be urged against Shackleton and the Schismatic Friends; or in behalf of their own public assemblies. The apologist even in his lucid moments, when rationality peers amid the broken clouds of mysticism, talks thus in defence of public meetings. "The vessels" —(each of the persons in the assembly who contains an "*inward*" fluid or "*light*;") these "vessels" being set close together, this caloric or "light" is transfused more readily from vessel to vessel than if they remained at home.‡ This, to say the least, appears natural enough!

This is the first class of effects produced by the spirit of the silent meetings. But there was not always silence. When the Spirit "stirs up a word to edification," the inspired person rises and speaks with great vehemence. Their ancients coming forward in no ordinary characters, made no ordinary claims.

* The witty Faldo had remarked "Even so have children found *refreshings at a puppet show*." Penn with wrath rebukes the ungodly joke, and with much mystic argument undertakes the defence of the orthodoxy of "these refreshings." "A right *sense*," says he, "may be had where the words may not be understood, which is the *one tongue* to the children of the light." vol. ii. p. 268.

† See Prop. xi. sect. 7, &c.
Consult the Apol. Prop. xi. close of sect. 6, &c.

"Thus saith the Lord God," was in olden times the usual preface of their speeches, and their writings. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," said the modest Ambrose Riggs.* "This is *God's word* of truth;" "I warrant this from God;" "I speak from the sense of the eternal Spirit"—were the prefaces of Penn.† And when the meek Burroughs "sounded the trumpet out of Zion" with fire and sword, "it was by the order of the Spirit of God." "The word of the Lord came unto him saying."‡

Their modern spirits take not such high ground. A remnant of the ancient prophets does indeed claim scriptural honours to their extemporaneous effusions; but the vulgar crowd, if not the most orthodox, introduce their homely remarks by an allusion to their "mental impressions."

The chief object of these discourses has been to defend their peculiar tenets; to turn man to the oracle within, to lead him away from external (which with them is paramount to carnal,) ordinances; to expatiate on the sufferings and merits of their martyrs; to extol themselves as the solitary flock of Christ; to pour out invectives against "hirelings," and against "steeple houses," and against the "dead letter" of the scriptures, and the "carnal ordinances" of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and against the crying sin of using the pronoun "*you*," for "*thee* and *thou*," and against ornaments and garments not of the society's cut and fashion; and against the heinous sin of salutations by uncovering the head—which iniquitous practice had strangely overrun Christendom; and had as strangely displaced the orthodox custom of covering the head in worshipping assemblies, and in the presence of superiors!

The freedom of speech allowed in their meetings has produced scenes painful and ludicrous. I have mentioned a scene between Keith and Penn.§ A grave Friend aiming at the quotation of a text, sung out in his nasal twang, "In my father's house are many manchets." And pray, said a simple one, "what means that?" "Manchets are round cakes, my Friends." "In

* Pennington's Works, Pref. p. 19.
† Vol. ii. p. 553.
‡ See his "Trumpet sounded, &c. Bugg's Pict. of Quak. p. 33 of the Art. of Quak. Faith, and "Snake, &c." edit. 2, p. 204.
§ Hist. Diss. in Part 1. sect. 25.

my father's house are many manchets!"—Farnsworth holding forth with wild zeal had wandered from his text. (It was no new thing.) Elizabeth Barnes, herself a prophetess, recalled him by the olden phrase—"Thou art whoring from the Lord!" The prophet turned round with such a countenance as Barclay believes fit to produce supernatural effects, and made a most uncourteous retort on the lady *in her own set phrase!* The meeting was thrown into confusion.* On a certain occasion as one of their ministers was moved to pray, and had laid the broad brim aside, and was fairly entitled to the floor, a female minister was moved at that instant to begin "her message;" at the same moment another member was moved to order silence; another was moved to "hale her out of doors." She, under the previous impulse, was moved to speak to those who assembled around her without; and the orderly brother within, following his impulse, went on peaceably with his prayer!†

"Πραγμα γιλωμενον παρα πολλοις."

PHILO.

§ 2. *Of Public Prayers.*—"Pray without ceasing."—*St. Paul.*—The prayers which the church offers up statedly, by her Lord's commands,‡ are opposed by the society with indecent warmth;§ and their preachers, rigid in principle, never pray unless under a *supernatural impulse;* and this spirit seldom, in these times, makes them a visit.

* Penn vol. ii. p. 219, who defends Farnsworth.

† See Elizabeth Bathurst's book, "Truth Vindicated," p. 7, 8, &c.—It comes recommended to the Friends by the high names of C. Marshall and G. Whitehead. No. 876, duod. Phil. Library. Whitehead who defends the above vagary of the lady, assures us that "*he had no doubt but that she was divinely inspired.*" G. Fox relates another of these counter impulses. As he and some of his friends were conducted by the military along the streets of Johnston, George was moved to preach; Lancaster was moved at the same instant "*to sing with a melodious voice.*" Journ. vol. i. p. 443.

‡ Phil. iv. 6. Psalm lxv. 2. 1 Tim. ii. 1, &c.

§ "Your graces before and after meat, your prayers and praises, the Lord abhors. Parnelle's Writings, &c. p. 28, 36. Bugg's Pict. p. 62, and Penn lets himself down against them thus—"I declare," (as an author observed of this singular man, when Penn was about to curse, he always. by way of prophesy and solemnity, did it from the Lord—"I declare from the Holy God, that an utter blast is coming on them all." Vol. ii. p. 273.

Ask the Quaker why he has not been in his closet? "The Spirit has not moved me." But thou hast not craved the benediction of God on thy family. "The Spirit did not move me." Thou hast not implored a blessing on thy food? "I made a pause —but the Spirit did not move me." That meeting for discipline was not constituted by prayer? "The Spirit did not move any of our elders." Meetings on First and Fifth-days are held and dismissed; I hear no supplications offered before the throne of grace? "The Spirit did not move us." I do not know but old John Brown, of Wamphry, might insist that he is right, and that facts bear him out! One thing, however, we all do know. The Holy Spirit, by a solemn precept, has made it a duty binding most closely our consciences, "*to pray without ceasing.*" But this spirit, that brings this doctrine and these practices into the society, does not *cease to dictate excuses for "restraining prayer!*"

In olden times there was much more prayer in the society. Their fathers carried it with them from those societies which they abandoned. We have some of their best specimens of prayer attached to the sermons of Penn, and Whitehead, and Stephen Crisp. There is one peculiar feature stamped on them all. They confess no sins:* they mourn over no delinquencies: they abound with gratitude for their superior attainments; and, with the piety of him who went up to pray with the publican, they thank God "*that they are doing his will on earth as it is done in heaven.*"† And, occasionally, we meet with apostrophes which breathe more of malediction than of blessing, like Brian's ban—

> "And the few words that reached the air,
> "Although the holiest name is there,
> "Had more of mysticism than prayer . . . ."‡
>
> SIR WALTER SCOTT.

§ 3. *Of Singing Psalms, &c.*—"Pariter omnes, velut uno ore, et uno corde, confessionis psalmum Domino offerunt."—*Basil.*

* Penn cannot even speak respectfully of our confessions of sin in prayer. See vol. ii. pp. 271, 676, 677.

† Crisp, p. 20, edit. Phil. A. D. 1787.

‡ See specimens of this in Penn vol. ii. p. 559, &c. See his book against Faldo passim. His "Reasoning against Railing," which is strangely misnamed, and his "Serious Apology." These are fruitful in prophetical curses.

Magnus in Epist. 63.—This branch of public worship is enjoined on us by the highest authority. "Sing unto the Lord." Utter his praises "in a song." And the reasons brought to enforce the duty, are taken not from any peculiar state of the church, but are such as do present forcibly the perpetual obligation of it.*

Singing evidently implies music; and, as the very form, and notes, and air are no where fixed by divine authority, we are guided by the general canon. "Let all things be done decently and in order."

The friends have not been visited by an impulse from their spirit, to sing the praises of God in public. The society is opposed to the sweet harmony of music.† They act on principle; their spirit has persisted in keeping them in obstinate silence. It has not yet revealed the notes, the bars, and staves: and tender consciences must not, and dare not fabricate them. It is "carnal wisdom" that invents these bars and staves and quavers; to sing them is "*fleshly exercise*," and it is, therefore, rejected from their spiritual system!

There is another difficulty in their way. The songs of the church are drawn out of the holy scriptures alone. She rejects all the effusions of modern inspirations. In thus using, in our songs, the experiences of the patriarchs and prophets, such as

* Colos. iii. 16, &c.—These reasons are drawn from the natural and moral character of God. We are enjoined to celebrate his praises in a song, because he is God; because he made us; because of his providence; because he has, with the most magnificent display of his natural and moral attributes, redeemed us. Psalms passim. Our Lord and his apostles set the example of the duty, under the new order of the christian dispensation. Math. xxvi. 30. The Holy Ghost, by the apostle James, has enjoined this duty on the church. James v. 13. The singing of the praise of God formed a prominent part of the exercise of the militant church, as delineated in the vision of John. Rev. v. 9, &c. The christian church, in her primitive and purest times, regarded this as a sacred duty. See Cave's Prim. Chris. b. i. c. 9. Bingham's Orig. Eccles. vol. vi. lib. 14, cap. 1, 2. Plin. lib. x. epist. 97, &c. "Soliti (Christiani) essent stato die—carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem." Bern. de Moore Perpet. Comp. vol. vi. pp. 75, 76. Calvinus in 1 Cor. xiv. Lucian, (or the author of the Dial. Tom. ii. Philop.) speaking of the Christians, says "They fast long, spending whole nights in watchings and singing hymns." Wettenhall on Gifts and offices, edit. 1679, p. 268. And (what is not the least with the society) Barclay pleads for singing, "as a sweet and refreshing part of worship."

† There are, individually, many exceptions. The gay Friends in our large cities begin to introduce musical instruments into their families.

are there enrolled by the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, we incur, in the opinion of the society, the deep guilt of hypocrisy. "*You utter*," say they, "*what suited them, not what suits you; you apply to your own feelings their experiences.*" "*You utter lies.*"*

This heavy charge betrays sheer ignorance of the nature and design of this part of divine worship, and a single explanation is enough to repel it. We sing, not only to *give vent* to pious emotions, but to *produce* them; and there is a strong moral tendency in this part of worship to produce them. The matter of our songs is entirely dictated by the Spirit of God speaking in the Bible. These divine truths are calculated to regulate our views; to collect the wandering thoughts; to rein the turbulent heart; to invigorate faith; to animate zeal; to inflame our love to God, and to urge the whole soul forward in holy exercises and rational devotion. The church combining her energies with one mouth, and by the grace of God, with one heart, sings the love of her Redeemer—or the divine goodness—or the terror and magnificence of his justice—or the guilt of sin and the vengeance that pursues it. The lofty nature of the theme, combined with the tender and enchanting force of the music, elevates the soul to God in holy aspirations of love and delight; or it melts it into unaffected sorrow for sin, and inspires it with the abhorrence of crime.

If there be any weight in their objection against singing psalms, it must strike with equal force against their public prayers. Their preachers sometimes pray. No preacher can utter the precise sentiments and vows of all the assembly. All do as really profess to join in prayer as in singing. What the speaker may utter in accordance to his own feelings and those of a part of the audience, must be wide of the feelings and vows of others.

But whatever the Friends do plead for in theory on this article of their creed, it is certain that *they practise more singing than we do.* We sing before and after sermon only; but their preachers, male and female, monopolizing the whole, *sing both prayers*

* See Penn vol. ii. p. 60, Stubb's Light, &c. p. 151, and Bar. Apol. Prop. x. sect. 26, p. 421.

and sermons! and still their grand tenet is not surrendered. For, verily, their notes are not according to the carnal rules of the amateur; and in numbers their singing is not altogether human!*

* The friends will sing only when carried out by the sanction of an impulse. I put the following case into the hands of their grave casuists, to say by what impulse it was produced. An old Friend of Philadelphia, husband of a minister who made a missionary tour of Europe, surprised himself and his family by new musical powers. In a dream of the night, when sleep had fallen on him, he struck up with vigorous lungs, the notes of a well known lively tune. There is no saying how long he would have yielded himself up to the "*refreshing exercise;*" for it is certain he was awakened by his family crowding in consternation, around his couch, to learn by actual inspection, whence "Yankee Doodle" could possibly proceed! (J. Queen.)

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MINISTRY.

"Ὡς ὡραιοι οἱ πόδες των ευαγγελιζομενων ειρήνην, των ευαγγελιζομενων τα αγαθά."—St. Paul.

1. The office of the ministry was ordained by our Lord.* The church is his house. None may intrude on it offices which he has not ordained; none may revive what he has revoked; none may abolish what he has appointed. In theology these are axioms.

2. The *extraordinary* offices of other times must be carefully distinguished from the *ordinary* offices. In the Jewish church the Levites were the stated ministry. It was made their duty to expound the law to the people.† On particular emergencies, extraordinary officers were sent. Besides the ordinary function of teaching, the prophet wrought miracles and predicted future events. But this office was not hereditary; it came immediately from God; and it ceased with the particular exigency which demanded it, or it expired with the life of the prophet.

In the christian church we recognise the same classification of offices. Our Lord "gave apostles, evangelists and prophets;" these he invested with an extraordinary commission—these he armed with extraordinary powers. He had great work to be performed by them. It was no less than the establishment of christianity, and the overthrow of philosophism, idolatry and superstition; and these, though supported by the prince of darkness, and by potentates and sages, tumbled in ruins before the truth, and the great offices of Christ's house. They were swept away as a mound of sand before the rolling tide.

But after christianity was established, it was necessary that there should be officers in the house of God, who should rule and teach permanently. Hence another class of officers was appoint-

* Eph. iv. 11, 12.
† Lev. x. 11. Neh. viii. 8.

ed.* These were ordained in every church by the apostles and evangelists;† and in their turn these committed the office to faithful men who succeeded them.

3. This class of offices was ordained by our Lord to be of perpetual duration.

The apostolical office was such, that it could not be hereditary. This point is settled by St. Peter in the character of an apostle which he has drawn. The following are the essential ingredients entering into the composition of this office. He was one who had been an eye witness of our Lord's resurrection; he had seen him alive after his passion—he had conversed with him—he had received his commission *immediately* from him—he wrought miracles and predicted future events. The gift of the Holy Ghost followed the laying on of his hands: of course when he died, his office could not be conveyed to a successor.‡ The claim, therefore, of Pope, Metropolitan bishop, and Quaker, is equally vain and presumptuous.

The office of evangelist and prophet, taken in the higher acceptation,§ must also be ranked in this superior class. They had the extraordinary gifts, and they were destined to their office, and to the field of their labours, by a mandate pronounced from heaven.‖

In determining the duration of these offices, we are to be guided by this maxim. The scriptures being the only rule by which the church is directed, in every matter affecting doctrine and policy, it is evident, that every office designed by her Lord to be permanent, and every thing respecting these offices, will be fully and distinctly marked out in them; and, when no rule is delivered respecting the call, or the qualifications, or the duties of an office; when no orders are issued by her Lord, respecting future proceedings in those matters, it is thence most distinctly declared that those offices are withdrawn.

Let us apply this maxim to the matter before us. No canon

* Eph. iv. 11. last clause.

† 2 Tim. ii. 2, Tit. 1, 5.

‡ Consult Acts i. 22, and 1 Cor. ix. See Campbell's Eccl. Lectures, sect. v.

§ To prophesy in the lower acceptation is to preach, 1 Cor. xiv. 3. to sing psalms, Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3, and to interpret, Exod. vii. 1.

‖ Acts xiii. 2.

is delivered respecting the call to any of these extraordinary offices. Nothing is intimated respecting the qualifications; nothing respecting the duties; nothing respecting their ordination. The church then, has no orders on the matter. This silence pronounces his will respecting these offices. They are revoked. Facts corroborate this proof. These offices expired with that number who were originally invested with them.

But our Lord had said, "Go ye, and teach all nations; and lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world." There was, therefore, another order of teachers and rulers in his house, who were to teach, in succession, "all nations;" and, therefore, to exist throughout the ages that shall roll on till the "end of the world." These are distinguished from the members of the church; and they are three in number. 1. The pastor, who is also called bishop, and teaching elder. 2. The ruling elder. 3. The deacon.*

These offices were appointed by our Lord. Faithful men were ordained to them, by the apostles, in every church. They were enjoined to commit their office to faithful men to succeed them.† The fullest instructions are delivered in the scriptures, respecting the requisite qualifications, and the calling, the choosing, and ordaining of men to them. The duties, enjoined on them with no ordinary degree of solemnity, make it evident, that the office, to which the duties are attached, is not occasional, but permanent and most important.‡ Hitherto, there has been a succession of them.§ There is no intimation in the divine records, that a period shall arrive in the militant church, when they shall be unnecessary, or shall cease. On the contrary, our Lord's promise "Lo! I am with you to the end of the world," is the

* Acts xx. 17, comp. with 28. 1 Tim. v. 17. Rom. xiii. 8. See Dr. Campbell's Eccles. Lect. Lect. iv. ad fin. On the identity of the office marked by these three names, the pastor, bishop and teaching elder, see Dr. Miller's letters on *church government*.

† Acts xiv. 23. 2 Tim. ii. 2. Tit. i. 5.

‡ 1 Thes. v. 12. Heb. xiii. 7. 1 Pet. v. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 8, 13.

§ On the question respecting the succession of the ministry, through the ages of the apostacy of Rome, see Dr. Owen's Disc. on the Spirit and spiritual gifts. Ch. vi. sect. 9, 10. Turret. vol. iii. Loc. 18, quest. 25. Bern. de Moore Perp. Com. in Markii Comp. vol. vi. cap. 32, sect. 13, p. 65.

most secure guarantee that there shall be a perpetual succession of pastors and rulers.

4. No person, destitute of the requisite qualifications, may assume the office of pastor or bishop. He must possess good natural talents. "There are some who believe that there is a sort of divinity in the utter absence of understanding. They esteem idiots and lunatics as prophets; they think their ravings celestial, because they are nonsense; their stupidity instructive, because unintelligible."* This is the sin which besets the people who trust in impulses. But the world has become too enlightened to countenance the folly. Their declamation has passed away like the roar of a distant mountain stream. The age demands that the ministry be committed to men of talents.

These talents must be strengthened and polished by the sciences. The bishop must be master of his own language, so as to convey his ideas in a pleasing manner, even to men of taste and letters. The Spirit of God conveyed the divine mind to us in the Hebrew and Greek languages. He ought to be master of these. Without this branch of learning, the polemic is not effectually prepared to enter the lists. Without it, the Humes, with all their idol reason, the Penns and Barclays with all their idol revelations, are at the mercy of translators, and want the first elements of candid criticism. The bishop is thrown into every company; he must be able to support conversation with men of taste and science; he must be able to detect the infidel in the labyrinth of scepticism; to confound the wit of the sophist; to silence the gainsayer; to recall the wanderer by the force of persuasion; and the erroneous by the light of argument. He must, therefore, be an able critic, a profound reasoner, a master of persuasion: he must have a deep knowledge of the human mind, and of human nature. He must be a patient casuist, a devout and eloquent preacher: he must be well versed in the history of the church, and of his own country, and of ancient and modern nations. In short, to support the dignity of the gospel ministry, he must be great in every thing that respects science, and morals, and religion. The advocate of an illiterate ministry is a

* Indep. Whig, No. 65, vol. iii. p. 104.

traitor to the sciences, and an enemy to the gospel. He would disarm the soldiers of the cross: he would surrender the interests of religion into the hands of infidelity and philosophism.*

Finally, these talents and acquirements must be sanctified by the grace of God. The former are simply the materials of the machine. It is the latter, it is grace that combines, impels, and directs it, so as to call forth its energies, and produce the proper effects.†

5. None may assume this office without a lawful call.‡

A call is either extraordinary, that is, without the intervention of human means, or, it is ordinary. The call of the apostles was of the former class: the latter is effected by common means, under Divine Providence. Such was the call of the pastors and rulers, whom the apostles ordained.

In this last class there is another distinction. A call is either internal or external. The former is from the Most High. It is expressed not by dreams, nor visions, nor impulses. Distinguished talents and piety mark out the object: he is led on by a combination of events in Providence; his purposes are overruled, and his way is hedged up; he is constrained by powerful motives to come forward to the ministry. This is his internal call. The proper officers of the church, guided by the holy scriptures, decide on his qualifications; thence the church prays him to "take the oversight of them." This is his external call. It agrees with the other thus far; that it is brought about in the course of a watchful providence, but by a different class of means.§ The

* It has been too often said, that the apostles were illiterate men; and the unbelieving Pharisees called them ἰδιῶται. But they were trained up in the school of Christ, during the space of three years; and, to complete their *learned education*, he conferred on them, by a miracle, the gift of tongues. We have not on record a more cutting reproof of an illiterate ministry and its advocates, than this action of our Lord. Did the Friends appreciate this miraculous interposition of the Head of the church, they would cease to glory in their illiterate ministers. See Bar. Apol. Prop. x. sect. 13, &c.

† 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 4.

‡ Jer. xxiii. 21, 32.

§ Under this class may be ranked a species of call that is in a certain sense extraordinary, yet not so as to be classed with that of the apostles. For, however much his call may be out of the usual way, the person comes forward with no extraordinary powers. Of this nature was the call of the Reformers; such was the call of the two young laymen who being carried captive among the East Indians, formed christian assemblies,

pastor is set apart by prayer and fasting, and "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."* By these simple definitions we set apart, as irrevalent matter, that tedious and loose declamation of Barclay, which forms the greater part of his disquisition on the ministry.

6. The ministry have strong claims on the regard and protection of their country. As persons of distinguished talents, great literary attainments, and correct morals, they possess much individual influence, which they exert for the good of the community. And their official labours have the greatest tendency to promote peace and good order; to check vice, to cherish virtue, to prevent crimes, to foster the spirit of religious and civil liberty. Their official labours are a national blessing; and every patriot will duly appreciate them. What would be the moral and political effects produced on society and the nation at large, by the degradation of their character and office, or by their expulsion? This may be conceived from a survey of the moral character of England under the reign of Mary and of Elizabeth, and of Scotland and England under the reign of Charles II. and James II. The bigotry of the court had nearly crushed the faithful ministry. Ignorance and superstition, leading on the horrid train which they naturally produce, had established their reign over the mass of the population. They had chained down the genius of liberty, and were preparing the people to bend their willing necks to the worst of slavery—that over the conscience.†

Still more distinctly may we conceive of these effects from facts in the history of France. The sanguinary house of Bourbon had inflicted many evils on the ministry. Charles IX. young in years, but old in crime, struck the first dreadful blow in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.‡ New tyrants added fresh injuries: and at the distance of a hundred years, Lewis XIV. let slip the fiends

by preaching the word. Theodos. Lib. i. cap. 23. Sozom. Lib. i. cap. 15. Such was the call of the captive lady, who brought the Queen of the Therians over to the faith, thence the king and the nation. Ruffin. Lib. x. cap. 11, Turret. vol. iii. loc. 18, quest. 23, sect. 16, 17, 18, 19, &c. And such the call of John Adams in Pitcairn's Island, in the Pacific Ocean.

* 1 Tim. iv. 14.

† Hume Hist. ch. 61 and 67. Neal vol. i. ch. 4, 5, 6, vol. iv. ch. 6. Dr Cook's Hist. vol. ii. ch. 12, vol. iii. ch. 22, 23, 26.

‡ In A. D. 1572.

of persecution. By a succession of cruelties, by massacres, and banishment, the body of the faithful ministry was destroyed; the rest, a wretched remnant, pining in obscurity, fell by degrees a prey to the ignorance and the superstition of the age. The way was thus gradually paved for the deadly march of Deism. Led on at last, by Voltaire and his satellites, this frightful demon filled the nation with its emissaries: these, in their progress, met with feeble opposition: "truth had fallen in the streets;" the faithful watchmen were gone. That singular species of enthusiasts steady to their bloody purpose, confounded the catholic priest with the reformed pastor; the abuses of superstition with the holy religion of the Bible. Their deep laid conspiracy against christianity burst forth in the Revolution; and it buried religion and government, and morals, and the nation in blood and havoc. These facts show that the principles which breathe hostility against the christian ministry, are plotting treason against the country.

From the nature of their office the ministry have to oppose the progress of infidelity, enthusiasm and crime. The slaves of these three have always hated, and will always hate, the ministry. This explains a fact on record, on the page of history, and which is established by evidence daily. I allude to the three public and avowed enemies of the ministry; the society of Friends; the society of Deists; and the different classes of immoral characters. That the last two classes should be decidedly hostile, is no matter of surprise. The unsanctified heart has not a deeper characteristic than this. It hates the power that strips it of its idols. But the hostility of the Friends is from principle, it is not personal; it is not the effect merely of the sufferings of their founders, under a persecuting priesthood: though this has had its influence, yet it is naturally engendered by their great tenet. Barclay explains the mystery in the following consistent manner. The primitive church possessed "*the Spirit and the life;*" the night of apostacy succeeded; "*the life and substance of the christian religion was lost;*"* *the succession was cut off;* the true seed was lost in them that held the sacred office; the result was fatal to them; their line and of-

* Apol. Prop. x. sect. 5, p. 291. The usual cant of the Socinian sectary.

fice became extinct. And as an estate that has been entailed, devolves to the prince of the realm, when there is no heir to claim it, and as he gives it again to whom he will, even so the faithful ministry being extinct, the office, like an entailed estate, devolved back on Christ. He gave it to whom he pleased. This event which has no parallel in history, took place in England during the civil convulsions of Charles I. and Cromwell. Christ "*gave the title and true right to those who turned to the pure light within.*"* George Fox, cordwainer, and his co-adjutors were the royal heirs; they received the whole right and title in fee simple.

Hence their jealousy and unrelenting hostility. They view the ministry with the same feelings with which the intruder views the true heir at law, who claims his property. The war they bring is, therefore, a war of extermination; there cannot be even an armistice, until *they surrender their leading tenet, or we give up our Bible!*

The office which the Society has created in the room of the ministry, is specifically different. It is a pure anomaly in the religious world; it bears not the features of the pastor, nor of the diocesan bishop, nor of patriarch, nor of pope. It makes an approach to the apostolical office; it is fabricated entirely out of immediate revelations.† These constitute the office; these create the necessary qualifications; these form the call to active services; these suggest the ideas; these put words into the lips. Hence they who are invested with the office assume the title of "*apostles*," and place themselves in the line of successors to St. Peter!

We have shown that the apostolical office could not, according to its nature, be hereditary. But admitting that it were, the successors must come prepared to establish their claims by "virtues and miracles."‡

* See Apol. Prop. x. sect. 10, p. 303.

† "Minister the word faithfully as it is manifested and *revealed* to them." Advices of the Yearly Meet. Lond. so late as 1802, &c.

‡ "Notandum est hoc, &c." It is to be observed that neither "τερας" a miracle, nor "σημειον" a sign was required from the prophet who taught the law and exhorted to the fulfilment of its duties. But the prophet who demanded the faith of men to a new article of belief was called on for his sign, or miracle; and these he gave on suitable occasions. Grotius in Deut. xviii. 22. The Jews acted on this principle. Math. xii. 38. Luke xi. 16, 29, &c. Our Saviour would not yield to the caprice of men, nor permit them to dictate to him the time or nature of his miracles. But he

"That is not necessary," says the apologist; "we bring no new gospel, but that which was confirmed by the miracles of Christ and his apostles."* The society does bring a gospel radically altered, if not new; many of their doctrines are new; they exclude from their system the most holy ordinances of baptism and the supper; they introduce the divine right of female preaching, and "female prelacy;"† and the "bald, unjointed" form of their worship does not bear any near resemblance to the platform of the New Testament.

To bring forward this new model of the gospel they present themselves under the title of "apostles," and claim the honours of "immediate revelations." Hence we demand of them evidence at least equal to that of the holy apostles. "That is not incumbent on us," says Barclay, "because Christ and his apostles established their commission, and the gospel by miracles; there is no reason why we should repeat them; their proofs are our proofs.‡

This argument has no parallel in the royal logic of John of Munster. History informs us that this person (he was a tailor) at the head of the fanatics of Germany, set up certain claims to the throne of Zion. The sage reasoned in the manner of Barclay. "It is admitted by all that David and Solomon were legitimate kings at Jerusalem; they gave sufficient proofs of it. This supersedes the necessity of proofs on my part. I am therefore king of Zion at Munster!" The force of this logic is marvellous; its magic wand makes kings and apostles start up like mushrooms!

There is no evading this demand. It is most reasonable; apostolical claims must be supported by apostolical proofs. Let the public functionaries of the society, therefore, produce the evidence of their commission from the court of heaven. Do not suppose that ancient miracles will bear out the claims of modern apostles; do not take refuge in telling us that if this demand be

took occasion, frequently, to give the requisite proofs by the most stupendous miracles. "Singularem signi in prophetis judicandis rationem haberi discimus, &c." Selden De Syned. Lib. iii. cap. 6. Spencer on Vulgar Prophecies, p. 60.

* Apol. Prop. x. sect. 12.

† Bugg's Pict. p. 176, Snake, &c. p. 54, 92.

‡ Apol. Prop. x. sect. 12.

just, the first Reformers ought also to have been called on for their miracles. The cases are different; they brought no new claims on our faith; they came with no new revelations; they claimed no apostolical honours: they appealed to the scriptures, and the correspondence of their doctrines and practice to "the law and testimony," was the best evidence of their call to the ministry. Do not tell us that you discern spirits; we ask the proofs of this high gift: do not tell us that one inspired preacher bears his testimony to another. Whence are we to learn that the witness is himself inspired? A third revelation is necessary to confirm the second: there is no end of this species of argument. There was a proof beyond this in primitive times:—and a proof beyond which no appeal could be carried. This was "prophecy and miracles." If you are apostles let us have the proof which the holy apostles never declined. Let us witness predictions and miraculous powers; tell us not of the predictions of Fox. The oracle of Apollo gave ambiguous responses which were easily interpreted after the event fell out. Do not tell us that some illiterate Friends corrected translations from the learned languages. The thing wants proof; and if proved, it will only show that a modern demoniac can equal the ancient demoniac in speaking foreign tongues!*

Upon the whole, these modern apostles want the "powers and miracles" which were essential to the office of the holy apostles. They have nothing to bear out their ghostly claims: they have not a solitary evidence of their "divine mission." On their own principles, they have no true elder, and no true preacher in their society. We do, therefore, denounce, and every honest Friend must, with us, denounce the unsupported claims of these men over them, as the sickly dreams of enthusiasts, and the gainful craft of impostors!

* See the note C. in the Appendix on Oracles, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE MINISTRY.

"Ὁ Κύριος διέταξε τοις ευαγγελίον καταγγέλλουσιν, εν του ευαγγελίου ζην."—
PAUL.

THE society condemns, in terms unusually severe, the ministry, who take a remuneration for their services. In their new nomenclature, they have no other title for them than *hirelings*;" and the "*hireling*" has been the favourite subject of invective in the public assembly and in the domestic circle. The theme has inspired ideas into brainless insipidity: it has roused lukewarmness into activity, and dullness into passionate sensibility. It has exhausted the loquacity of the female orator, and blown the fire of the zealot into fury;* and the sons of Mammon, the while, like "*fat contented ignorance*," have smiled on their labours, and lauded the system that spares the gold.

We have no right, as we have assuredly no inclination, to interfere with the internal regulations of the society. We have simply to say, that as their orators have not the requisite talents for the ministry, nor a call to it; as they perform no stated pastoral services, we have to render them the praise of doing a strict act of justice, in declining a stated support to their ministers. They merit nothing; hence, they justly receive nothing. The case is different with the true ministry; and Barclay,† whose good sense would not allow him to deny it, has admitted the divine force of those laws to which we appeal in support of these claims, for clerical maintenance. "*Let the elders that rule well, be counted*

* Penn, one of their politest writers, and one who knew what the term *charity* meant, does not allow a "*priest*" or "*dissenting minister*" to be saved. "*Against them*," said he, "*the boiling vengeance of an irritated God is ready to be poured out.*" See his "Guide Mist." p. 18, A. D. 1668, and "Quak. a new Nick." p. 165. There are other passages which I cannot venture to set down. See his "Serious Apology," p. 156.—Evan's "Narrative" laments this outrage to charity.

† Prop. x. sect. 28, p. 348.

worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in word and doctrine: For the scripture says, thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn; and the labourer is worthy of his hire.*" "*The Lord hath ordained that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel.*"†

To all these plain precepts, the society opposes *their* exposition of one text. "*Freely ye have received, freely give.*"‡ "That is, the gospel is freely given to you; accept of no pay in return." This objection will vanish when we bring the whole passage into view. "*Heal all diseases, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give.*" Our Lord uttered this in reference to miraculous powers only. The disciples had given no reward for them; they must exercise them *freely* on all. They must not, like Simon Magus, seek gain from a display of miracles.§ But when he speaks of their *support in the ministry*, as he does in the following verses, he says *Provide neither gold nor silver, nor clothes.*" If there be any obscurity in this, let it be explained by precepts delivered at a later period. "*The labourer is worthy of his reward.*" "*The Lord has ordained that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel.*" If this precept "*freely give*" did prohibit the taking of support in any form, it would prohibit the Quaker prophet from taking food and raiment. Their own exposition, therefore, militates even against their tenet and general practice in this matter. "For *greater or less* do not affect the argument."

The declamation of the society, against the temporal support of the christian ministry, betrays the marked spirit of the sect. Judging all men to have a fraternal sympathy with them on the *comparative value of gold and learning*, they make a feeling appeal. They besiege the selfish principle; they summon to their aid the innate love of money; they make a dexterous and novel use of those great principles in human nature, *that nothing is closer to a man's heart than his purse;* that it is to the great mob—"the one thing needful;" and, hence, that they readily yield the palm of

* See Schleusner in τιμη; Pretium honorarium.
† 1 Tim. v. 17, and 18. 1 Cor. ix. 11, and 14. and Gal. vi. 6.
‡ Matth. x. 8.
§ Or take pay as physicians for these miraculous cures.

merit to that system, as the most *judicious and the most orthodox, which costs the least!*

But whither does the violent declamation of the society tend? They do give their orators a support, and the apologist advocates the propriety of it.* It differs only in the extent and manner of bestowing it. Our ministry receive their annual support. This is barely sufficient, and often hardly sufficient, to put it in their power "*to lead about a wife or sister;*" and to spare a little from domestic uses for the calls of charity; and, for obvious reasons, it is paid in current money.

Their preachers have no salary, but they receive their remunerations. It is not claimed as a debt. There is not and there cannot be a pastoral relation existing between the people and those who are moved by fortuitous impulses. There can be, therefore, no regular claims. "*They receive what is necessary and convenient.*"† That does not mean gold or silver. Payment in this form would make them "*hirelings.*" The phrase is explained by their casuists to mean that which individuals can spare from a luxurious table and a well furnished wardrobe. The gold is saved consistently with the strictest scruples of conscience! What the inspired receive is in the form of alms. He receives a coat when a rich man condescends to give one. It may be new. It may be thrown off his patron's shoulders. It may be fine. It may be coarse. He has nought to say. It is an alms. Sometimes he is blessed with beef and pudding. He is grateful. Sometimes with a loaf and cresses. It is altogether as charity opens her resources. He sits down and munches his crust—thankful that his office affords him "a bit of bread." When he discloses to the assembly the divine impulse on him to itinerate, a grand consultation is held.‡ Who shall furnish the carriages? who the horses? who the travelling expenses? who shall be pur-

* Apology Prop. x. sect. 28. That affectation of alarm, displayed by the body of Friends in the state of Maine, in 1821, when they implored the Legislature not to exempt from taxation any of their ministers, was a mere fanfaronade, but it was played off with a dainty grace on the whole!

† Barclay.

‡ When the prophet is moved to go to foreign parts, he draws on the public treasury. When an eminent preacher went from Pennsylvania to Britain, some years ago, on a missionary expedition, his wallet was not,

veyor?* "But might he not just as well have the amount in specie? Let him have only the prime cost. You will save your bodily trouble." No, verily, he shall not have money. The world shall never have reason to call the prophet "*an hireling.*" Proh tempora! proh mores!

But these things are given to their orators in consideration of services. "Greater and less seems not to affect the argument." And it is no matter whether payment be made in money, in traffic or in labour. It is still a payment. Their preachers are, therefore, on their own definitions, "*hirelings.*" And, unhappy men! they are subjected to numberless privations, and the curses of a disgusting dependence. But their motto is from the ancients "Vivere convenienter naturæ." There was a happy mixture of wisdom and prudence in requiring the ministry to be illiterate. Strangers to the sciences, they pled their way through life by help of their hereditary ideas, which are gained without expense, and retained without mental exertions. They are strangers to the exalted sentiments and delicate sensibility of the learned and polished mind. They can submit to privations and dependence which would break the heart of the learned and refined. They are borne aloft, amid their labours and sufferings, by the proud consciousness of inspirations, and the caresses, which the society lavish, instead of gold, on their prophets. What toils and privations will not a rude unlettered mind submit to; what enterprises will it not hazard, when it deems itself the favourite of heaven, and admitted into its secrets? when the hosannahs of partizans dissipate the languors of fatigue, and the despondency of melancholy! Fanaticism urges it on. Life, and toils, and speeches are at the service of applauders. But the brilliant rays of science, and the holy light of religion, once poured on the gloomy mind—oh! how soon would they scatter the delusion, and restore him to society a rational and sober

like the Cynic's, filled with lupines, but with a lordly weight of gold. Some of the society were much dissatisfied at his weighty drafts.—[Rev. Mr. Clarkson of L.]

* I speak, of course, of their stated and itinerating ministry. I do not take into the account those from the farm or the counting house; who "*with fair round belly with good capon lined,*" and with heads full of pounds, shillings and pence, come to teach their carnal neighbours temperance and disinterestedness!

minded christian! A Mohammed, and a Fox, and a Naylor would have been cured by these, had it pleased the Deity to bend on their hearts their plastic energies!

This spirit of hostility against a learned ministry will never extend its influence beyond the narrow precincts of the society.* If it did, how melancholy would be its ravages! Our population would become as illiterate as the great body of the Friends;† our learned and pious ministry would sink beneath the torrent of Gothic ignorance. Our academies and colleges would be deserted; and the owl would scream from the tottering walls of those edifices, which are now the seat of science and of religion!

And let the society pursue this system of hostility to the liberal education and the support of their orators. It is producing its slow, but certain effects. The time will come when the spirit which was sustained by the fascinating influence of novelty in an age of ignorance, and which was nursed into vigour by an ill-advised persecution, will surely evaporate. The vapour of Delphi has been dissipated. Apollo has been struck dumb. Fox—Naylor—Penn—Barclay—have had no successor. A generation not very remote, may not produce a prophet to mourn over the desolate oracle. "Νεκρων το χαριεν ἡ Δαφνις μεστον· και τουτο κωλυει τον χρησμον."‡ This principle of the society is, therefore, secretly and surely hastening its ruin.

"Vis consili expers mole ruit sua."—*Hor.*

* Facts bear me out. Our ministry in all the sections of the reformed churches, are annually encreasing in a prodigious ratio. The society is admitted by Clarkson to be annually decreasing.

† Clarkson vol. iii. p. 168.

‡ Apollo in Daphne, Lucianus in Pseudomanti.

CHAPTER V.

ON FEMALE PREACHING.

" Cedunt grammatici, vincuntur rhetores, omnis
" Turba tacet, nec causidicus, nec præco loquatur,
" Altera nec mulier: verborum tanta cadit vis,
" Tot pariter pelves, et tintinnabula dicas
" Pulsari."——*Juven. Sat. VI.*

" One would suppose that nature had varied from its fixed principles; and that in these days women were men, and men women!"

Strabo.

Another striking feature in the principles of the society is their admission of a feminine priesthood, and a feminine episcopacy. They actually permit their females to preach, and to superintend meetings for discipline. The practice is *now* peculiar to the society. But it is not novel; nor is it without weighty precedents.

From time immemorial, the devotee of mystical systems, and of revelations new and fresh from the invisible impulse, have courted with unremitting fervour the patronage of the sex. And that most singular and most interesting division of the species; " the first in that which is wrong, and the first in that which is good," have too readily yielded them their influence. They whilom, threw the veil of sanctity over the deceptious craft of the fane. They gained credence to the maudlin reveries of fanaticism. And they have too willingly lent their aid to nurse the monstrous births of heresy. Apollo's oracle at Delphi had probably been dumb without his priestesses. Numa found it impossible to support the weight of royalty, or to produce wise laws for his subjects, without his Egeria. Simon Magus was aided in his bold career by his Helena; in whom, he tells us, there resided *a female Ghost*. Valentine employed several prophetesses to give effect to his innovations.* Montanus was supported by the inspirations of Priscilla and Maximilla.† A female

* Irenæus Advers. Val. Lib. i. and Brown's *Quakerism*, p. 21.
† Spanh. Sac. et Eccles. Hist. p. 646, fol.

zealot held a high rank amid the Mystics of Orleans. Eager multitudes pressed around the prophetesses Hildegrand and Elizabeth, whose fair hands sustained the banner of inspiration in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth Juliana and Wilhelmina, and the sisters of the Free Spirit, maugre all the *weaknesses and infirmities of flesh*, raised their fame to the stars. Poretta, the foremost of female bishops, made a figure in the fourteenth century. The female Pietists and fair Rosamond, and mother Pedersen, and aunt Guyon were oracles in the seventeenth. And there was Catherine De Sens whose propheceyings broke a Pope's peace and heart, and rent the church catholic by broils and factions for fifty-one years.*

The Holy Catholic church too, though built on no less than the rock of St. Peter,† and propped up by *Him who wears the tripple crown;* and by priests; and by friars, white, black, and gray; has yielded to the force of truth, and the necessity of the patronage of the fair. And although sworn, on their legends, to be insensible to the charms of the sex, the Pope and his ghostly court have bought their smiles and their influence to their cause. The spiritual degree of saintship was the price of their hire: there was saint Bridget, and there was saint Teresa, and there was saint Matilda, and a long list of names greater and less, which the infallibility of Rome has blazoned on the roll of the ghostly calendar. And in the unlucky reign of the Stewarts in England, while the bowels of the Holy Father piously yearned over the lost treasures of the apostate realm; while the measures of James VI. had been long putting forth their kindly influences in cherishing popery, though at the same time, indeed, sundry weighty volumes of his black letter writings were hurled by majesty, at its head; while the opinions of the reigning monarch Charles I. and the maxims of his court re-animated the expiring hope that England might be regained; Rome, judging that women might achieve what men had tried in vain, commissioned certain female Jesuits, and bade them go and regenerate apostate England. And it is impossible to conjecture what might have been the ex-

* Spencer on Vulg. Proph. p. 20—Mosh. vol. iii. cant. 14, part 2, ch. 2.

† The Protestant church professes to be built on the rock of ages, Christ.

traordinary spiritual revolution of that kingdom, under the irresistible influence of these bewitching Jesuits, had not that weak and shuffling Pope Urban, moved, it is shrewdly conjectured, more by jealousy for *man's* honour, than by zeal for the good old cause, actually abolished the new order. Fated kingdom of England! how hast thou to bless the memory of Urban and his papal edict?*

But—"*Palman qui meruit ferat.*" The society of Friends can produce a list of heroines and feminine bishops not matched in any age, by Jews or Gentiles—heathens or christians. From those of "*the first convincement*," through a long line of prophetesses, down to the "*angelic minister Sarah Morris*,"† and the fluent Emlyn, and the eloquent Hunt. They can boast of a line of prophetesses by whom all the ancients—aye, and the moderns, are completely thrown into the shade. They have had inspired heroines and orators who spouted cataracts of eloquence against "*hirelings*," and against "*steeple houses*," and against "*carnal ordinances*." And, if we may credit their first journalists, they swept away all opposition, and hurried magistrates, and priests, and people into one common medley of ruin! They had their Anne Wright who, to the extraordinary gifts of preaching, added the rare courage of making processions in sack-cloth and ashes through the metropolis of England, and of Ireland; and who, to give effect to public testimony, stood forth in her consecrated garment of sackcloth and the sprinkling of ashes in the aisle of the great church of St. Patrick.‡ They have had their Mary Fisher, whose zeal, worthy of so grand an enterprise, prompted her to a devout pilgrimage to Adrianople, to convert the Sultan Mahomed IV. and the Turkish nation!§ And the later glory of the society has lighted up to them a Harrison, whose spirit-stirring zeal

* These female Jesuits had monasteries in Italy and Flanders. They followed the Jesuit's rules. They were not confined to the cloister; they went abroad and preached. Father Gerrard set up this order in England. He began with *two* young women. Nor let John Bull exclaim only *two!* If the kingdom of Priam fell in ruins by *one Helen*—what would *two female Jesuits* not have done? Pope Urban VIII. suppressed this order A. D. 1630. Broughton's Dict. vol. ii. p. 538.

† Evan's Narrat. Philad. p. 82.

‡ Jenner's Quak. p. 162, Penn's Works vol. ii. p. 77. 78

§ Gough's Hist. of the Quak. vol. i. p. 421

made her aspire to higher things than dull domestic concerns, and to rise superior to all the ordinary ties which unite females to husbands, to family, or to country. She made a pilgrimage, for the benefit of Europe, to convert her graceless nations!*

Such has been the state of the female ministry in the society; and what has been, may very readily again be. "There is nothing new under the sun." It requires not the gift of prescience to foretell that the present facilities held out by the society, will secure a succession of conscientious female ministers. Hard though the ordeal be, some will always be found equally prepared to overcome the dull propensities which bind *ordinary* females to domestic employment, and to rid themselves of the trammels of that modesty which constrains weaker females to shrink back from the stare of man, behind their fathers and husbands; and to throw off the proud yoke of man who lords it over them; and to disdain the tyrannical injunction of the man Paul, who, too severe and too unaccommodating to females, has trenched on woman's sovereignty; and has verily said "Females shall not teach nor usurp authority over man."†

Barclay was too well acquainted with the duties of a polished man, and too happy in a gifted wife,‡ to be silent on this subject. Yet he has said little; and that little he has contrived to partake of obscurity and indecision.§

I do not profess to be able to give any satisfactory reason why he, who is so full even to weariness on all other subjects, should leave this so abruptly, after thrusting it too into the corner of another subject. I have been sometimes induced to ascribe it to

* The following anecdote of this lady, whose virtues and courage were worthy of a better cause, I had from my late friend James Quin, an elder in Walnut street church, Philadelphia. She presented herself at the gates of Valenciennes, during the Revolutionary struggle in France. The governor examined her passport and papers. "To all the spiritually minded—followers of the light within, &c. &c." "My good woman," said he, returning her papers, "you have mistaken your way. There is not such a class of beings in Valenciennes."

† "*Paul spoke this in his own spirit*"—is their easy way of loosing the gordian knot of a hard text. Evan's "*Narrative*" shows how common this mode of solution has become in Philadelphia.

‡ That amiable and accomplished woman, dame Barclay, was an eminent speaker in the society, long after the learned Barclay had withered in his early grave.

§ See Prop. x. sect. 27.

his sharp foresight, (almost equal to a prophetical spirit) that the transcendant succession of female talents in their ministry should always be fully adequate to say enough for themselves. It is certain that no female preacher ever yet needed to make the solemn invocation of worthy and learned Zachary Boyd, in his printed but *unpublished* version of Job.

> " There was a man, and his name was Job :
> " And he dwelt in the land of Uz.
> " And he had a good gift of the gab—
> " May the like befal us !"

To bring this subject fairly before my readers, I shall make these preliminary observations.

1. The whole weight of the argument, for female preaching, rests on the assumption that divine inspirations are vouchsafed to the society, and that their females, equally with their males, share in the supernatural endowments; and they appeal to these words of Paul as not only authorizing female preaching, but directing and regulating their deportment when uttering their inspirations. " *Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head.*"*

2. The term " *prophesy*" has more than one signification in the sacred volume. These four select passages exhibit it in as many different senses. " *Jeremiah prophesied these things.*" " *Shemaiah has prophesied a lie.*" " *He that prophesieth speaketh to men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.*" " *David separated them to prophesy with harps, to give thanks and praise the Lord.*"† Thus, to prophesy, is—*First*, to predict future events. *Second*, to utter pretended revelations. *Third*, to expound and declare the will of God already revealed. *Fourth*, to sing the praises of God.

Now, of all the senses determined by these quotations, the *fourth* only is applicable to the whole assembly of the church. Individuals only did predict: individuals only were false prophets: individuals only were expounders of the truth. But every worshipper may be said to prophesy in the sense determined by

* And yet, contrary to the very letter of this same authority, every female preacher lays aside her bonnet, when she begins to utter her inspirations in their meetings.

† Jer. xx. 1, xxix. 31. 1 Cor. xiv. 3. 1 Chron. xxv

the fourth quotation. Every worshipper does sing the praises of God: every worshipper does say *amen* to the prayers offered up in the church. Hence, every worshipper, male and female, does, in the words of St. Paul, "*pray and prophesy.*"

Now a very important question arises here. In what sense is the term *prophesy* to be understood, when women are said "*to pray and prophesy?*" No decision can be made on this subject, until this question be disposed of. The Friends have taken no notice of this question: they have not even observed that the term is used in different senses. Hence the obscurity and confusion of their writers on this article.

3. There are certain divine precepts, which, in the most explicit terms, prohibit females from preaching. "*Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted to them to speak.*" "*It is a shame for women to speak in the church.*" "*Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.*"*

On comparing these precepts with the apostolical directions quoted in favour of female preaching, we perceive a distinction clearly marked out by the highest authority. In the latter, women who "*pray and prophesy*" are enjoined "*to have their heads veiled in token of subjection.*" In the former, females are prohibited from teaching, and even from speaking in the church. Thus, females may "pray and prophesy" on certain conditions. But on no condition may they "teach or speak in the church." The Spirit of inspiration cannot contradict himself. It is evident, therefore, that he speaks of two distinct things. All worshippers, male and female, "*may pray and prophesy.*" Men only may "*teach*" in the church of God.

4. It is a truth which we readily admit, that there have been prophetesses who have rendered distinguished services to the church. The names of many are on record in the holy writings, and the memory of their services never can perish. But these were always raised up on extraordinary occasions, and for extraordinary services. Let it be carefully observed, that the regular and ordinary teachers of the Old Testament church

* 1 Cor. xiv. 14, 34, 35. 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12.

were the Levites; and there were no female teachers among them. In the apostolic age also, there were prophetesses. But these females were invested with extraordinary offices. They were not merely teachers; they predicted future events: and this high authority and commission with which they were clothed, commanded an affectionate and respectful attention from the church.

If any enter claims to the succession of such high offices, let us see also the succession of their gifts. Do any demand our faith and obedience as prophetesses now? Let us see the commanding proofs of their miraculous or prophetical powers? This is what the church demanded in every age; and this was unhesitatingly complied with by every true prophet. It is as reasonable now as in ancient times. Extraordinary claims can rest only on extraordinary proofs. Ordinary claims are supported by common proofs. The Friends have none of the apostolic powers to display. Their female prophets can not work miracles, no, nor predict. There is one species of proof within their reach, and we do rigidly demand that. The apostle Paul suggests it in the close of his famous discourse against female preachers. Having solemnly charged the females, in the name of his Lord, not to teach nor speak in the church, he adds these most memorable words: "*If any man think himself a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write are the commandments of the Lord.*" Now then, if these female preachers are inspired by that Spirit, who spoke by Paul, I call on them to say that these are the commandments of the Lord which he uttered. Those females who are inspired by the Spirit of God, will devoutly obey the precept; and shaking off all the prejudices of the sect, and of their early education, they "*will learn in all silence and submission.*" But those females who "*will speak and teach in the church,*" have not only no evidence to approve themselves to the consciences of men, but they positively refuse to obey the Holy Ghost speaking by Paul. And hence there can be no difficulty in deciding what spirit has stirred up these *female Korahs* to this outrageous rebellion against the divine order of the house of God!

5. There existed in the church in primitive times the offices

of deaconesses, and female presbyters.* The necessity of these offices grew out of the peculiar manners of some eastern nations. In Judea the females were not strictly secluded from society: they were admitted to social intercourse in the presence of their parents and husbands; and hence they had access to the preaching of the gospel by the stated ministry. The case was very different with the females of the surrounding nations; these were strictly secluded; the ministers of the gospel had no access to them. Accordingly, recourse was had to the services of christian females of distinguished piety and rank in life. These taught the secluded females, and formed their morals.

St. Paul makes frequent allusions to this female office.† In the following ages this office arose to such a rank of importance that females were set apart to it publicly by the usual solemn form of ordination, and the "*laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.*‡

But these females did not officiate in public; they did not teach men. They exercised their function in the retirements of the harem, and among females. And the office ceased with the custom and usage which created it. It never existed, by apostolical authority, in any country where females were not confined to the harem. Hence this office cannot be adduced as a precedent to establish a public female ministry in any country. It cannot be adduced as a precedent in any western nation, in our times.

If the eastern manners were, by some miraculous revolution of morals and customs, to prevail amongst us, and deprive us of the sweetest charms of society, the presence of the fair sex, by driving them into the harem, the church would then most certainly institute a female ministry for their salvation. But, even this would be yielded on this essential condition. The female ministry must discharge its offices in the harem—*and in the harem only*—where no man—not even a saint, durst enter, or look, were it even to save a woman's soul!

* πρεσβυτιδες, &c.

† In his epistle to the Philippians he names two distinguished females who "*laboured with him in the Lord.*" Ch. iv. 3.

‡ This is evident from the second canon of the council of Laodicea, quoted by Grotius in Pol. Synop. in Rom. xvi. 1.

6. It is also admitted that in certain circumstances females must become preachers. They may be thrown on a heathen shore; they may be carried captives among a savage people. It is unquestionably their duty in such cases, to preach the gospel of Christ to their fellow men. Such a thing has been done, and it has been stamped with the approbation of Heaven. The conversion of the Iberians was begun by a captive lady. By her pious instructions the Queen of the country was converted to the christian faith: their united labours brought the king over; and in process of time the leading men and the body of the people embraced christianity.* It is in such circumstances as these only, that the early doctors of the Reformed churches have admitted a female ministry to be possible, and even needful.†

These preliminary observations being made, we are now enabled to separate from the question all irrevalent matter. The question is this. Ought females, in the existing circumstances of the church, to be admitted into the holy ministry, or to discharge any pastoral duty?

Since the system of revelation is completed; and no alterations will ever be made in it; since, as the wiser Friends do admit, none of their prophets pretend to reveal truths unknown before; since there is now no necessity for the divine inspirations which guided the prophet of old; and since there is no evidence that revelations are vouchsafed to the Friends;‡ we reject the proofless claims of the female preacher as arrogant and insufferable. And we hold the religious impulses by which they profess to be guided as the fraudful art of imposture; or at best, the wild reveries of fanaticism!

We cannot rank the female preacher by the side of the prophetesses who were sent by inspiration. They do not teach the same doctrine; they do not produce their testimony. We can-

* Ruffin. Lib. x. cap. ii. Turret. tom. iii. p. 247.

† Luther, Calvin, Turretine, and others have distinctly admitted this. Barclay in quoting Luther as favouring their female ministry, (Apol. Prop. x. sect. 9, ad fin.) has done the Reformer a gross injury, which the society, as honest men, ought to repair. Luther alluded to particular cases, similar to what is quoted in the text. Barclay has applied to general and ordinary cases, what Luther expressed as to particular and extraordinary cases.

‡ See Part ii. ch. 1.

not class them with the presbyters and deaconesses who taught secluded females. They come unblushingly before the public, and teach grave men! They are not content to become teachers of the heathen, when thrown on their wild shores; they thrust themselves into the crowded assemblies of our populous cities; they announce themselves to the public by a gazette, or a hand-bill extraordinary; and preach under the very eye of learning and piety! They refuse to confine prophecy to the singing of praise in a psalm. Their defective system has even ceased to acknowledge practically this species of prophecy.

Where then, shall we class this anomalous and singular species? They belong to nothing purely modern. They resemble those females, who, in days of yore, broke through good order, and the laws of heaven; usurped the prerogatives of men; and fired by wild fanaticism, poured forth their unmerciful rhapsodies, in measures more than human, and in cant utterly inimitable! Women that set law and discipline, and offices ecclesiastical, at defiance. Women, whom not even St. Paul—no, nor even the whole college of the apostles, could reduce to silence! Alas! then, for us! what can we do against the thunder-storm?

The precept which prohibits the female from *speaking and teaching in the church* is a divine precept. And what claims our attention, none of the reasons brought to enforce it are taken from the condition of individuals, or of nations which might change. They are all taken from the moral fitness of things. *First:* "*It is a shame for women to speak in the church.*" It is inconsistent with modesty—that amiable virtue, and loveliest ornament in the female character. *Second:* It is the special law of God recorded in the sacred volume, and engraven on every virtuous female's heart, that woman should be in subjection to man, as her superior. And, as teaching in public is an act of authority over them who are taught, female preaching is prohibited on the ground that "*to teach in the church,*" *is* "*to usurp authority over the man.*"*

These divine precepts are so pointed against this innovation, that they have galled the society to a degree which they are not willing to admit. And every writer has tried his ingenuity in

* 1 Tim. ii. 12.

turning aside the galling weapon. Some of the early, and indeed the best writers of the sect, have resorted to a singular exposition of the precepts which prohibit female preaching. Fox, Farnsworth—and after them Penn himself, insisted that the "*woman*" forbidden to teach, is not actually a woman—it is not the sex—it cannot be; it is the wisdom of the flesh, or man speaking in his fleshly spirit. And by the term "*man*" in the discourse of the apostle, is meant "*Christ*," the husband of his people. Hence carnal wisdom, or man speaking in his own spirit, is the woman that is forbidden to speak in the church.*

If this novel exposition be correct, the context must bear them out. Let us try the force of Penn's exposition thus.† "*Every man*," that is, Christ, "*praying or prophesying having his head covered, dishonoureth his head. But every woman*, " that is, carnal wisdom," *who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head; for that is all one as if she*, that is, carnal wisdom, *were shaven.*" Verse 9. " *The man*," that means Christ, "*was not created for the woman*," that is, for carnal wisdom; "*but woman*," that is, carnal wisdom, "*was made for the man*," that is, for Christ!!‡

The following quotation from the apostolic Constitutions, exhibits the sentiments of the primitive christians on this subject, and is at one with the spirit of the precepts above recited. "*And let the women sit apart, observing silence. We do not permit women to teach in the church, but only to join in prayer and listen to the preacher. For our Lord and master Jesus Christ sent us twelve to teach the people and the nations. He sent no females to preach the gospel. This was not without design. For there were with us the mother of Jesus and her sisters. If it had been necessary that females should preach, he himself first would have enjoined them, as well as ourselves, to teach the people by preaching. But if man be the head of the woman, it is not just that the body should bear rule over the head.*"§

* Penn vol. ii. p. 134, &c.

† 1 Cor. xi. 4, 5.

‡ This extravagance of Penn out-Origens Origen himself; and has absolutely no parallel, saving it be the *unique* exposition of Isai. viii. 1. By Gregory Nyss. Oper. Tom. ii. p. 135; and by Huet. Demonst. Evang. Prop. vii. sect. 15. "Ut uxor dicatur grandis liber, et stylus hominis *eam partem notat*, &c." See Ber. De Moore vol. i. p. 124. The learned know the rest.

§ "Καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες," κ. τ. λ." Apost. Const. Lib. ii. c. 57. Lib. iii. cap. 6. and Bern. De Moor Perp. com. in Markii Comp. vol. v. p. 487.

In fine, the authority assumed by the female episcopacy in the church, is more unjust and more tyrannical, than that which the female usurps in the domestic circle, when she degrades her husband and seizes the reins of government over the family. The one is a breach of civil order; the other is a breach of the laws of God's house. And there is a degree of guilt attached to crimes of this last kind, which throws a frightful shade of aggravation and infamy over them. And can a man of spirit submit to this infamous usurpation? On the poor hen-pecked sufferer we bestow our sympathy, as on a martyr for the rights of man. In his degradation his will is not stained by any acquiescence in the tyrannical encroachments of his help-mate. But the silence and the complacent submission of the society, to this public encroachment on the civil and religious rights of man, present the matter in a different point of light. We feel not so much the yearnings of sympathy for the hen-pecked martyr struggling occasionally for his rights. We feel all the virtuous indignation of the man and the christian against men who have sold their birth-right, and yielded up their powers to the dominion of the petticoat!—Oh the times! Oh the manners! Can this age that has been enriched by every work of taste; that has elevated every branch of science to such a proud eminence; that has produced so many men of learning and refinement; so many orators in church and in state; whose labours are diffusing among all ranks in society, the most correct views of man's natural rights; such love of order, piety, and religion: Can this age bear the presumptuous opinions of them who would bring back on us the mysticism and folly of the dark ages, when bearded men listened to prating girls; and professors resigned their chairs to doating old women!

We call on every man of science and friend to literature in the society, to exert himself in correcting the vitiated taste of men; who even for their amusement can listen to the incoherent effusions of illiterate females! We call on every virtuous and amiable lady in the society, to use all her influence in taking away this scandal to man—this reproach to the sex! We call on every man of spirit and independence to set his face against this insult on his dignity and prerogative; this outrage to the laws of God and of nature! And oh! ye hen-pecked, and far from peace

and comfort, gladly would we aid you in regaining your lost paradise, out of which your ambitious Eves have so wantonly turned you! Make one effort more, we beseech you, to make them feel their proper station in society. But alas! no—words will not do it. Arguments cannot. Distraction can be restrained only by force. And none but the brutish can apply force to arguments, especially where the fair are concerned. I give up the case, therefore, as hopeless. Alas! and we have lived to see the day when those evils reign that made the most patient of the fathers groan. "Alii discunt, proh pudor! a feminis quod homines doceant—Scribimus indocti, doctique poemata passim—Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosa præsumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant."* We have lived to see the day when these female phenomena have ceased to excite surprise or interest! The novelty is gone; and with it that burning shame that was on the cheeks of our fathers, when they were first compelled to witness the intrusion on their prerogative, and on delicacy and decency! The wonderment of the mob has subsided into a leering stare! And the thing is become a matter of perfect indifference to the orderly and the polished; to the magistrate, to the pastor, and to the prelate. Oh ye grave Roman senators, who arrested the solemn business of the commonwealth, in order to consult the oracle what alarming events the appearance of a female in your forum to plead her own cause, might portend to the city;† the stoutest of you had "*stood aghast with speechless trance*"—had you witnessed what our eyes behold—females mounting the rostrum, and declaiming in the assemblies of the people—had you witnessed grave men and even prelates, and even pastors, and even the united wisdom of the people in the halls of the state and the congress, sitting down under the prophecyings of mother Juliana, and the refreshings of a petticoated preacher! Proh tempora! Proh mores!‡ * * * * Old

* Hierony. tom. iii. 7.

† Plutarch.

‡ This has been literally exemplified in the congress, and in our state legislatures. The mother Julianas of the day have been invited to enlighten our congress, from the speaker's seat. And a few years ago the legislature of New Jersey postponed the business of the commonwealth, to sit down under the "*divine refreshments*" of a reverend mother Deborah, who occupied the speaker's seat with infinite grace!

pope Gregory XI. groaned forth the lugubrious words in his last hours . . . . . "*Ah! let no man listen after me, to the prophecyings of a woman—of a Catharine De Sens!*" Helen fired a Troy after ten years bloody trials and sorrows! This prophetess kindled a fire that blazed in church and state during fifty-one revolving years! * * * * * *

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE DEFECTS OF THEIR SYSTEM IN RESPECT OF A MORAL STANDARD.

Psalm xix. 7.—תורת יהוה תמימה משיבת נפש עדות יהוה נאמנה מחכימת פתי׃

The sectary and the polemic often find themselves in a situation trying to the most stubborn virtues. But no force of temptation can be alleged in extenuation of dishonesty and treachery. The man who flatters the loveliness of truth, at the moment that his hand wields the poniard of the assassin, is, to say the least, sunk to the lowest degree of literary depravity.

In the infidel world, the most noted of this class were Herbert and his copyers, down to Hobbes. They professed to venerate the scriptures, and they aimed a blow at their existence. In the christian world, the cardinals Bellarmine and Hosius were their associates in this crime. These advocated the divinity of the scriptures, but avowed that the written word, though useful, was not necessary. Nay, the lips of Hosius asserted, "*that the interests of the church had been better consulted, had revelation not been committed to writing.*"*

The Friends are their companions in arms, and rivals in zeal. They differ only in the object of their design. The infidel has assailed the honour and dignity of the holy scriptures, in order to exalt to divine honours the light of reason; the cardinals to elevate the tradition of the Fathers; the Friends the revelations of their "*light within.*"

When Herbert† and Hosius qualify their rude attack on the holy scriptures, by professions of veneration for their sanctity, we must question their sincerity, or insult our own understandings. The truth is, they acted on the maxim of the catholic courts, who worship the vicar of Christ, but hesitate not to wage bloody wars against the man and his court. They praise the

* Turret. Loc. ii. quæst. 2. sect. 1. Bernh. de Moore, tom. i. p. 128.
† Herb. Relig. Laic. p. 28.

sacred scriptures, but it is only to prepare the way for a system to which they made revelation yield the honours of its divinity and loveliness!

Of the same nature are the professions of veneration which blazon the pages of the early Friends. They admit the scriptures to be holy and useful: they insist that they ought to be read and believed "where they are known:" that they are the "only fit *outward* judge of controversies."*

But they do insist that they are inferior to their perfect rule "*the light within;*" and it is in supporting the proof of this principal article of their creed, that they have been carried forth into such intemperate sallies of zeal against the holy scriptures.

The "scriptures," say they, "*are the dead letter*," while their "light" is made "the living rule."† "Ye doat on the scriptures without," said Parnell;‡ and to the question, may I not read the Bible? the oracle gave this laconic answer—"Read thine own heart."§ "The gospel is preached in every creature by the light of God in their consciences."‖ "No command of the scriptures is any farther binding on a man, than as he finds a conviction in his own conscience."¶ "That which is spoken from the spirit of truth in any," (and "the spirit" and "the light," in their nomenclature, are synonymous terms) "is of as great authority as the scriptures; yea, and greater."** Penn insists that their revelations and the scriptures are "of the same family;" but admits that the "scriptures are the elder brother;"†† and yet this elder brother has but a meagre honour rendered to him. For Penn maintains that the Bible cannot be the rule of faith and morals. "They are not such a rule as ought to be plain, proper and intelligible." And, as if inspired by the spirit of Bellarmine, he throws out the most disingenuous insinuation against their authen-

* Penn vol. ii. p. 815, 896. And the "London Epistles" are *now* pretty orthodox. The following is modern. "We believe the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be of divine original; and give full credit to the historical facts as well as doctrines therein delivered." See the Quaker notes in the American edit. of Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. iv.

† See Penn vol. ii. p. 66. ‡ "Christ Exalted," p. 3. § See Stalham. ‖ S. Fisher's "*Light of Christ*," sect. 20. ¶ Penn vol. ii. p. 253. Burroughs' Works, folio, p. 47. ** Whitehead's "Truths Def." p. 7, and quoted by Penn, vol. ii. p. 674, and Snake, &c. edit. 2, p. 107. †† Vol. ii. p. 331.

ticity. He magnifies the depredations of time, and the corruptions of translators, and the ambiguities of different readings, and then exclaims with Herbert and Rome—"Behold the uncertainty of my opponent's word of God."* "But the light within," says he, "leads all out of darkness into God's marvellous light." "Wherefore, O Friends, turn in, turn in! where is the poison, there is the antidote; where you want Christ, there you must find him."†

This bold and licentious freedom of the primitive Friends, combined against them all pious people. The indignation was strong and effective; the Friends felt it, and yielded to the tempest. Some items were withdrawn; some were disowned; much was explained; an ambiguous style was adopted. Whiting published a *purged* edition of their chief writers; and occasionally a long panegyric on the scriptures was spoken in the meeting, or published to the world.‡

But they made no retreat. It was one of those deceptious marches on which a foe presents himself to all appearances moving off in cautious and measured steps; while the very movement is bringing them closer on their enemy's flank.

It is impossible to mistake the proof of this. Barclay has devoted a proposition§ to prove that revelations and the light within form the grand standard of faith and morals; and that the scriptures occupy the humble station of a "secondary rule;" and so very slender are the honours bestowed on this "secondary rule," that the little which his theory ascribes to them, may positively be accomplished to as good purpose by the approved writings of the society.

This will appear distinctly from a brief contrast of the apostles' account of the use of the scriptures,‖ with Barclay's account of their immediate revelations. 1. "All scripture is given by inspiration of God." "The Friends," says Barclay, "are not

* Penn vol. ii. pp. 326, 495. See also the Ancient Edit. of his Christian Quaker, pp. 8, 10, and Keith's Deism of W. Penn, pp. 29, 80, 63.

† Penn's Pref. to Fox's Journ. Phil. Edit. p. 57.

‡ See Penn's Reply to the Bishop of Cork, and Sewel vol. ii. p. 472, Phil. Edit. and Bar. Apol. Prop. iii. sect. 1, &c.

§ Prop. ii. of his Apol.

‖ In 2 Tim. iii. and 16.

only inspired, but they have the spirit for their original and principal rule."* 2. "The scriptures are profitable for doctrines." Barclay says, "their revelations are the only sure way to attain the saving knowledge of God."† 3. "The scriptures are given for reproofs." Barclay's revelations of the "Light" do, by their evidence, force the well-disposed mind to assent, and irresistibly move it to what is right.‡ 4. "The scriptures are profitable for corrections." Barclay says "their revelations never moved them to any thing amiss—never deceived them."§ 5. The scriptures convey instructions in righteousness." "The revelations of the inward light," says Barclay, "are the only certain basis of all christian faith."‖ Finally, the scriptures make the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished to all good works." "Our holy religion," says Penn, "has God for its father, and victory for its offspring." "We know," continues he, that *we* are of God; and those who oppose our testimony (of the Light) are in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity."¶

Having thus clearly determined "the Light" to be the perfect standard, and the scriptures to be the "secondary rule," the apologist proceeds to remove the objection, the full weight of which he felt. "Of what use can this secondary rule be, since the light is a perfect rule?" His ingenuity has reduced these to three.** *First.* The scriptures give an historical account of God's people, and of his providence attending them. I put it to the candour of every orthodox Quaker, whether any profane history, whether in particular Fox's Journal and Sewel's Narrative, have not done as much. *Second.* "They give a prophetical account of several things, of which some are past, and some are yet to come." Every disciple believes that the Journal and Sewel have given an account of several prophetical things, of which (and we shall not disturb their faith) "some are already past, and of which, verily, some are yet to come."†† *Third.* "They contain a full account of all the chief principles of the doctrines of Christ." Every orthodox Quaker has given full credence to the inspira-

* See his Theses. and Prop. iii. † Prop. ii. sect. 3. ‡ Theses. ii. § Prop. ii. sect. 13. ‖ Prop. ii. sect. 16. ¶ Vol. ii. pp. 228 and 194. ** See Apol. Thes. and Prop. iii.

†† Such as his marvellous prophecy of the conversion of the Scottish Nation to Quakerism. "*This is yet to come.*"

tions of their primitive elders; and have been verily persuaded that their works have done all this. Hence if they are only "a secondary rule" they are reduced to the level of human writings.

But will the christian world bear this rude attack? The apologist, no doubt, asked himself this very weighty question, and hence he comes to play off a very admirable deception. God forbid that we should undervalue the scriptures: we only depress them to exalt the Holy Spirit. He, not the scriptures, is our perfect rule.* This violence then, is piously designed to bring honour to the "Spirit." But the artifice is too shallow; it is a deception practised on the use of the word "spirit." This "spirit" cannot be the Holy Ghost. He cannot, without the grossest violation of decency and common sense, be called "the rule." No man ever made the law and the legislator the same thing; no man ever said that the legislator is the rule of our civil duties. Hence if there be a single grain of meaning in Barclay's words, he means to say that the "light within," or their revelations, which they believe to be from the Holy Spirit, are the only perfect rule.†

On these deistical principles of even the moderate Barclay, it needs not be any matter of surprise, should we find the leaders of the society denying the necessity of having revelation committed to writing. "*From a prophet,*" says Philo the Jew, "*nothing is hid. He has an intellectual sun in him.*" Men so highly endowed certainly need not the humble aid of written revelations. Pennington, one of their doctrinal writers, has frankly admitted this. "*As for us called Quakers, we should have known our religion as well as we do, if no scripture had been written.*"‡ And the uniform practice of the society gives a definite exposition of their sentiments. The Bible is never read in their meetings for worship; and this is not to be classed under the mild name of an omission. The practice grows out of a first principle; it is bound up in the existence of the society. Place a Bible in the hands of their preachers. Let them speak "*according to the law and the testimony,*" and they would exalt the scriptures above their

* See his Prop. iii. and sect. 2.

† Their writers make "*inspirations*" and the "*spirit*" the same. See ch. vii. sect. 2 following, and Penn vol. ii. p. 67, &c.

‡ See his Tract called "*Some things relating to religion,*" p. 7.

"Light." Their revelations would cease; their light would be obscured; their glory would depart. Hence the zeal with which they have opposed the introduction of a Bible into their places of worship. When "an ancient and grave Quaker" brought his Bible into Grace Church street meeting, and had actually commenced reading it, it was taken from him, and himself thrust forth.* And, as far as I can discover, no attempt has been made since that to introduce it. And when Keith left their communion and introduced a Bible into his meeting, the society considered "this sign of his returning to the priest's worship" as the closing proof of his irrecoverable apostacy.†

Since then, the society has adopted "the Light" as the perfect standard of faith and morals, it is but reasonable to expect that their sentiments on this article should be clear and consistent. Any thing like contradiction, or ambiguity, or even obscurity, must be fatal to their system. It must render the whole uncertain, defective, and worse than useless. But there never was an article in any system, in which so much confusion and contradiction have existed, as on that of the "light within." The incoherent lemmata of Mohammed's Koran strung together like bird's eggs, are consistency itself, compared to this.

The following extracts exhibit a fair specimen and proof of this. "*This light*," says Fox,‡ "*is not the natural light*;" "*it is not the conscience.*" "*The light within is but one, and that light is Christ.*" "*Christ is not distinct from the saints.*" "*The light is distinct from the soul*," says Fuller.§ "*By this light we mean no other divine principle than the Spirit of Christ, or the grace of God.*" "*It is*," says another,‖ "*the saviour and redeemer of him that loveth it.*" "*Christ within is man's true light and guide.*" "*The Spirit of Christ in man is the true light and guide.*"¶ "*The light of the word*," says Naylor.** "*is God's love to the world.*" "*The principle in you*," says Bishop,†† "*is of God; the measure of him in you.*"

* In 1681, the author of the "Snake," &c. published this uncontradicted fact shortly after it took place. See "Snake," &c. Edit. 2. p. 101.

† "Snake, &c." p. 148, Edit. 1 and 3d.

‡ See his Great Myst. p. 209, 201, 207, and his epistle "On the way to the Kingdom, p. 4, (1674.) § Reply to Boyce, pp. 60 and 21.

‖ Burroughs' Warning, p. 14. Stalham. p. 53. ¶ Foster's guide to the blind. p. 7, 9, and Penn ii. p. 489. ** "Door opened, p. 2, 3, &c.

†† Vind. of Quak. Quer. 285.

"*By the seed we mean Christ.*" "*The light within,*" says Whitehead,* "*is divine and uncreated; it is the divine essence itself. It must be God. To deny this is to deny his omnipresence.*" "*It is an eternal light,*" says Fox, junior.† "*It made all of one blood; it upholds all things.*"

Let us next examine the pages of Penn. "*Christ in his own essence is the light of the intellectual world.*"‡ "*The light and spirit are one, though two names.*"§ "*The light is eternal, holy, and omnipresent light.*"‖ "*Though every measure of this light is not the entire eternal being, yet we are bold to assert that it is no other than God the fulness of light.*" In the course of his discussion it becomes in his hands, "*the word of God, the true Christ, the wisdom, the anointing, the gift of God.*" "*It is the same that was in that body that was an offering for sin.*" "*It was a manifestation in the soul of Christ, the word of God, the Lord from heaven, a quickening spirit.*"¶ "*This principle of light is the gift of God through Jesus Christ to man.*"** "*The spirit of Christ within is his voice within.*"†† "*The light that cometh from God is God; for God is light.*"‡‡ *We never said that the light within is the only Lord and Saviour and very God.*"§§ "*This light is not the Most High God, but a manifestation from him.*" He next proceeds to talk of "*God measuring forth himself in inward discoveries.*"‖‖ On the whole "*this seed or Christ within,*" says Penn, is something that needs redemption, "*we assert the redemption of the seed: For the light and life that has been sown in many, is loaded with sin and pressed down.*"¶¶ And lastly, it is man's "*pious instinct which prompts him, &c.*"*** And is equally in the *Pagan and Christian.*†††

But, finally, will the learned Barclay settle the dispute; or shed a beam of light through this chaos? "The light within," says he, "is not the human soul; it is the seed, the word, the grace, the spirit of God. It is the Christ within, the vehicle‡‡‡ of

* See his "Dipper plunged," p. 13, and his "Div. Light," p. 22, 23. Fuller against Boyce, p. 63. Penn quotes and defends these sentiments, vol. ii. p. 672. † See the tract in his works, (publ. 1665) entitled "Words of the true and eternal Light." ‡ Vol. ii. p. 857. § Christian Quak. part 1, append. p. 151. ‖ "Reas. against Railing," p. 151, Art. 21. ¶ Vol ii. p. 502, 506. ** Vol. ii. p. 885. †† Vol. ii. p. 290. ‡‡ Vol. ii. p. 672. §§ Vol. ii. p. 232, and 780. ‖‖ Vol. ii. p. 580. ¶¶ Vol. ii. p. 520 *** Vol. ii. p. 714. ††† Vol. ii. p. 244, 245, and 463. ‡‡‡ "*Vehiculum Dei,*" origl. Edit. Lat.

God, the spiritual body of Christ. "It is that in which God and Christ are as wrapt up."* "It is not the essence of God precisely taken. It is a real substance, a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible principle." "This substance or seed, or spiritual body of Christ . . . . . was as really united to the word as his outward body was." "Christ in us is not a third spiritual nature distinct from that which is in the man Christ Jesus, who was crucified according to the flesh at Jerusalem. For the same that is in us, was and is in him. In him was the fountain; we have the stream." "The seed being in us, the man Christ Jesus is in us: not in his whole manhood, but according to what is proper to us."† In fine, says Sewel, "the Quakers believe this light to be the grace of God, &c."‡

Such are the accounts which their most enlightened writers have given of this fundamental tenet. They are at antipodes with each other. Well might the venerable bishop of Cork beseech Penn to stop their career of publishing and of proselytizing until they should have an understanding among themselves, and be of one sentiment.§ . . . . . This light is not the natural light; it is not the conscience; it is not the soul. It is a distinct substance; it is the seed; it is the measure of God; it is Christ; it is the Spirit; it is the Spirit of Christ; it is Christ and the Spirit; it is the love of God; it is the Saviour of men; it needs redemption itself; it is not a creature; it is divine; it is omnipresent; it is eternal; it is God—though not the entire Eternal Being; it is the essence of God, say some; it is not God, say others. The orthodox may worship it, said West. Penn said amen! the society said yes. But when Naylor and a few desperate characters tried the force of this dogma in actual practice; and when the religious world cried out against the blasphemy, and when the misguided judges branded Naylor with the hot iron and sent him to the dungeon, instead of putting him into an hospital, the society also forsook Penn's theory, and pronounced their anathema over the fallen victim . . . . . Moreover, it is the vehicle of God.

* Bar. Apol. Prop. v. and vi. sect. 13.

† Apol. Prop. v. and vi. and Quak. Confirmed, sect. 4, and his large works, Lond. 1692, and p. 627, Bennet's Confut. of Quak. p. 115.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 547. § In his "Testimony, &c." against Penn.

It is that in which God and Christ are as wrapt up! It is his grace.

What a tissue of contradictions! what man or angel—I do not say Quaker, can tell us what this thing is? It is a pure anomaly; it is an absolute non-descript in the list of existences; it is a *being;* it is not God; it is not angel nor man. And seriously, it is not beast, nor fish, nor fowl, nor creeping thing; it is not a divine perfection; it is not an angelic nor human attribute. It is a *being* which had escaped the vigilant researches of rabbis and doctors, and plain orthodox divines—aye, and of modern philosophers who have been carrying the lamp of discovery into all the recesses of moral and physical science. A being equally removed above the eagle eye of Newton, and the nice chemical investigations of Sir Humphrey Davy. A *being* which had yet, by its anomalous light, irradiated the gloomy cloisters of the mystic, as it does now the bosom of the Friend! Hence, we are entitled to the conclusion, that the system of the Friends is radically defective in regard to a moral standard, or rule of faith and manners. It has removed the only perfect rule, and it has produced no substitute to which the proverb is not applicable. "Sicut plumbea Lesbiæ œdificationis regula: ad lapidis enim figuram transmovetur—nec manet regula."*

* "Ωσπερ της Λεσβιας." κ. τ. λ. Aristot. Eth. lib. v. cap. 14.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE DEFECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF THE SOCIETY IN POINT OF DOCTRINES.

"Doctrina eorum pallium est ex laceris veterum hæresium panniculis consutum."—*I. Markii Orat.* 2.

An opinion has gained currency, that the doctrines of the society cannot be distinctly ascertained; that they are either concealed, or, from their peculiar nature, are not tangible to reason. That the world cannot understand their opinions, is, in fact, an early dogma of the society itself. And they have been anxious to persuade the public that the christian world can no more penetrate their secret love, than the ancient vulgar could the veil of the Eleusinian mysteries; and they throw down the same gauntlet of defiance. "*Procul oh! procul este profani.*"*

But this is only a species of *ruse de guerre* played off for concealment or defence. The doctrines of the society can be distinctly ascertained. They have authors who were fully into the secrets of the society. Their writings are regarded as inspired oracles by every orthodox Friend; and as long as they are Friends, and profess to be the followers of those worthies who organized the society, the volumes of those elders, and not the detached opinions of individuals in modern times, must determine their orthodoxy.† Were they to condemn the doctrines of Fox, or of Penn, or of Barclay, or of Pennington, or of Whitehead, they could no longer claim the name of Friends. They would surrender the testimony of their fathers, sealed by their blood, and transmitted to their children, as a legacy never to be parted

* See Smith's Catechism, p. 94, and Penn ii. p. 455.

† The yearly meeting at Philadelphia, in 1821, directed the youth of the society to the "writings of their primitive Friends," to open their eyes on the fallacy and danger of changeable doctrines. See also the strong language of the society on this, in their Vind. Mosh. vol. iv. p. 304, ed. 1821.

with, but with their name and existence. Were they to admit that those writers were, in a single instance, in error, or that they made even a recantation, they would surrender the very principle on which they have erected their system, and which distinguishes them from every other sect. These writers testified that they were guided by immediate revelations; and the society has given full credence to their inspirations. Their messages were received as "the word of the Lord God" to the body.*† From these writings we shall produce all our documents.

But a difficulty meets us at the very threshold; a difficulty, however, which arises not so much from the obscurity of these writers as from the want of consistency. They wrote so much, and so long, and so fast, that, inspired or not inspired, certain it is, their folios bear the melancholy proofs of human frailty. What is confidently advanced, from "the Spirit," in one folio, is sometimes flatly denied in a second folio by the same high authority.‡ This is the sin which greatly besets the sixteen hundred folio pages of Penn. They are patched up out of pieces composed at remote periods, of a long life spent in a tempest of controversy. They are, in faet, a kind of guage on which the growing opinions of the society were graduated. They faithfully mark the progress of their principles, inch by inch, through the purifying ordeal of opposition, toward that death-like stillness in which they have slumbered for a century. Emerging from the tenebrosity of mysticism, they laboured it through the rugged mazes of Socinianism, and they finally settle down in an ambiguous homogenity with Pelagius and Arminius.

I mention this particularly, to guard against an array of quotations from private opinions, or from different parts of their works.§ And let the members of the society look to it. If it

* Burroughs' Epist. to his Works. Penn vol. ii. 186, 291, &c. Fox's Journ. passim.

† Fox, the founder of the society, taught his followers to consider it insufferable heresy to call the scriptures "*the word of God.*" But he had no scruples of conscience in calling his own inspirations, in the shape of Epistles, "*the word of the Lord God,*" as he actually does *four times in one Epistle.* Journ. vol. i. p. 357, 358, 359. Phil. edit. of 1808.

‡ The reader is referred for proof to chap. vi. in the gleanings on the "Light, &c." in this work.

§ As from the London Epistles 8vo. edit. 1806, Balt. which contains much orthodoxy in its modern form.

can, by fair quotations, be made out, that Penn formed his system out of a particlar class of doctrines, they are bound in honour to uphold his consistency. He publicly professed to be led by the "*spirit of the eternal God.*" The society have admitted his claims. Hence, no orthodox Quaker can admit that he was in error, or retracted ought of what he had advanced. And as their writers, from Barclay to Henry Tuke, are but copyers of Penn, and have not, in any instance, if they speak truth, ever contradicted him, then his opinions may be fairly considered as the public opinions of the body. However, to do the subject justice, I shall quote from any of their approved authors indiscriminately.

The christian and learned world has ever held that system to be radically defective from which are excluded the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. That system, therefore, which excludes from the list of its peculiar tenets the sacred doctrine of the most Holy Trinity; which denies the personal distinction between Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost; which rejects the *real* atonement of Jesus Christ the second person, in human nature, at Jerusalem; which denies the necessity of the atonement; which so far disclaims the necessity of the knowledge and the faith of Christ's *outward* sufferings, and *outward* death, and *outward* resurrection, as to avow, that heathen nations, who never heard of these, have, by the inward light, the same opportunities of salvation as Christians have by divine revelation; which admits of no other justification before God than certain nameless undefinable operations on the mind by the inward light, and no other faith than the bending of the mind inward on this same light—that system must be defective in the last degree.

§ 1. *Of the Most Holy Trinity.*—In the christian system this article is fundamental. On it rests the weight of all the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. It is brought forward in the sacred scriptures with clearness and proof adequate to its importance. There is one God. This is not contested. It is no less evident that there are, in the one Jehovah, three;* each of whom is God,

* Gen. i. 25, xi. 6, 7. Isa. xxxiv. 16, xlviii. 16. Math. iii. 16, 17. 1 John v. 7.

and is called God. Thus the Father is God. This is not denied. The Son is God.* The Holy Ghost is God.† But there is only one God. Therefore, in the unity of Godhead there are *three*. This is an awful mystery; but it is no contradiction. They are three in one particular *mode*. They are one in another *mode*. These three are persons or subsistences. They do personal acts. The Father begets the Son. The Son "*is the only begotten of the Father.*" The Spirit "proceeds" from the Father and Son. Each performs sovereign, independent, and divine acts. The Father sent the Son; the Son came, and "*had power to lay down his life, and power to take it again.*" And the Spirit "*distributes to each man severally according as he will.*" To each of these *distinctly* are ascribed divine agency,‡ divine perfections,§ and divine homage.‖ Hence, they are persons, divine and distinct, and thus, "there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one."¶

The sentiments of the society on this article, were, at first, neither distinct nor clearly expressed. They seemed to adopt the current language of the christian world: they believed, they said, according to the letter of the scriptures, in "the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost;" and that these three were truly and properly "one." But their collisions with several antagonists brought out their real sentiments. And notwithstanding their unusual affectation of avoiding every thing like indecent prying into mysteries . . . . . Oh! with what painful precision are their sentiments expressed!

In their system the sacred "three" are not merely "one God" in the language of the church. These "though *nominally* distinguished," says Penn, "are essentially the same divine light;"** there is no distinction of persons.†† "They are properly and

* John i. 1, 2, &c. † Acts v. 3, 4. ‡ John v. 17, 21, 23. 1 Cor. xii. 11. § Rev. i. 8. Psalm cxxxix. 7. ‖ Matth. xxviii. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

¶ John v. 7, &c. See on this article Turret. and Bern. de Moore de Trinitate. Dr. Owen's small vol. on Trinity, 12mo. Horæ Solit. 2 vols. Scott's Essays. Sloss on Trinity. Professor Stuart on Andover's Review of Sparks's Sermon. Dr. Wardlaw's Discourses on the Socin. Controv. and Dr. Miller's Letters on Unitarianism.

** Vol. i. p. 267. †† Fox's Great Myst. p. 142, 293.

truly one; they are only three different manifestations or operations of God. Christ is the everlasting Father; and the Father may be said to have taken human nature as well as Christ.*

In the gloomy hours of sorrow, when, in addition to the well-laid-on corrections of polemics, the English parliament had enacted severe laws against blasphemy;† and a stern magistracy had laid their iron hand on Penn; and a dark dungeon of the Tower had actually received him under the charge of blasphemy; the concessions of this extraordinary man became marvellous. On a sudden he became too orthodox on this article, for the followers of Biddle and Socinus. But no sooner had the dungeon disgorged him after a meagre explanation,‡ than he proved before the public, the truth of his assertion made in the Tower, "*that he had not budged one jot*" from his early faith.§ Hence it is beyond doubt that his book entitled "*The Sandy Foundation Shaken*," contains the true guage of his faith, and the faith of the society on this article.‖

The *first* "sandy foundation" to be "shaken" is the doctrine of one God in three distinct and separate persons. In the course of his discussion he writes thus: "*No one substance can have three distinct subsistences, and preserve its unity.*" "*This doctrine of three divine persons,*" *says he,* "*will make three Gods.*" And "*Whitehead*" continues he, "*to bring this strange doctrine to the capacity of the people, compared their three persons to three apostles, saying, how could three of them be one apostle?*"¶ In another place his impiety carries him the audacious length of asserting that our doctrine of the Holy Trinity is absurd!** And bolder than Voltaire or Priestly, he demands "*Whether if God did beget a son, that son had not a beginning? If the Holy Ghost proceeded from both, is he contemporary with the*

* See this sentiment in Fox's Great Myst. p. 246, ancient Edit. and "Snake in the Grass," p. 121, Edit. 2, of 1697. † Anno 1 of William and Mary. ‡ See his Reply to the Bishop of Cork, in vol. ii. folio; see particularly p. 802. § See his "Innocency with open face," &c. and his "Key, &c."

‖ Clarkson Port. vol. ii. ch. 13, on Relig. appears utterly ignorant of even the existence of this book—though he might have quoted it with perfect *consistency*. For Barclay he was too sagacious an *Apologist* to bring forward to view the society's doctrine on this article! If the Christ. Observ. had read this book of Penn, would they have written that in their vol. 13 p. 113.

¶ Penn's Sandy Found. &c. p. 11, ancient Edit. of 1668, and Vincent's Refutation, p. 15—19. ** Vol. ii. and Tract First, p. 12.

son?" . . . . . But my pen refuses to pollute my pages with more . . . . . Oh! my God! It is thus that his unclean spirit blasphemed against the "*eternal spirit*," who does proceed from the Father and the Son!* And against "*the only begotten son of God*," "*whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting.*"† And thus his philosophism betrays its origin. "Philosophiam Platonicam omnium hæreticorum condimentum."‡ Because human reason—because our feeble intellects which are bewildered by a thousand mysteries of nature—our intellects to which the union of our souls to matter in one person is an impenetrable mystery; because these intellects cannot comprehend the *mode* of the existence of Jehovah in Trinity; therefore, with the vandalism of Socinus, Penn sweeps away the holiest doctrine from the christian system, and with it all the peculiar doctrines of the gospel!

§ 2. *Of the persons of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.*—In the volumes of the Friends the sacred name of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, seems to receive the loftiest honours; and the lips of their speakers utter these holiest names with reverence. This has produced a favourable impression on the public mind; and for this the society ought to receive full credit. But this establishes nothing in favour of their orthodoxy. Words are simply the arbitrary signs of our ideas. The lips of Mohammed also spoke of Jesus Christ with respect;§ the Jesuit too, and the Franciscan, the brother of the scapulary; and even Conrad the Inquisitor, while they mumbled over an unknown mass, pronounced these sacred names with solemnity. And it costs a writer but a small effort to employ the current language of christianity; while those in the secret can easily affix their sentiments to the words of their leader.

We have an illustration of this in the case before us, painfully striking. The holiest names whom all the christian world adores, are sacrilegiously imposed upon those images which ancient heretics fabricated, and the labours of Socinus adorned for worship!

The society *has always admitted the divinity of Christ and of the*

* Heb. ix. 14. John xv. 26. Gal. iv. 6. † John i. 18, Mic. v. 2.
‡ Tertul. De Anima. § Gibbon's Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. vol. vi. p. 251. Phil 2 Edit.

*Holy Spirit.** . . . . . But how? Why—because the Son and Spirit are manifestations or operations of the Godhead; and whatever is of God must necessarily be divine. This is the total amount of this great, this marvellous admission that *these* are divine; this is the utmost extent of the divinity which the society allows them. In addition to this, the personal distinction between the Son and the Spirit, is denied by them in strong and positive terms.† With them these sacred persons mean one and the same thing. The following quotations are the proofs of these assertions.

Penn conveys his sentiments unblushingly in the language of Crellius, whom he applauds.‡ "The Holy Spirit is the power or efficacy of God, which proceeds from God, and issuing into man, sanctifies and consecrates them—which power and efficacy of God they were wont to call inspirations." "We believe in one spirit that proceeds and breathes from the Father and Son, as the life and *virtue* of the Father and Son;" "and he who has one has all, for these three are one."§ Pennington and Clarkson re-echo the same sentiments.‖ Job Scott, a distinguished modern leader, professed his firm faith in "the divinity of Christ," but denied the persons in the Godhead. He conveys his sentiments clearly in these extraordinary words: "It is clear to my mind that that one divinity became actually the seed of the woman, and he is one in the head and in all the members."¶

In the process of their refinement by allegory it is evident that the society has not only destroyed the distinction between the divine persons, but as the Bishop of Litchfield has justly observ-

* H. Tuke and Clarkson in his Port. vol. ii. 228, Edit. 2. Is it supposable that these two very excellent men were unacquainted with Penn's books and real sentiments?—I think not.

† Yes, though Penn does say "*the son is distinct from the Father.*" See vol. ii. p. 802.

‡ "I wish," says Penn, "that Crellius had been as sound and clear in all other points." He had been writing Socinianism on the Trinity. I am aware that Penn armed cap-a-pee with the weapons which Socinus had laid down, had entered the lists against a *Socinian*, (the author of "The Quaker's Spirit Tried;") that he fought against these "*Socinian notions*," and that he advocated the "divinity of Christ," vol. ii. pp. 109, 110, 112. But their dress and armour being changed, Trojan attacked Trojan in falling Troy, and did each other incredible mischief in the dark.

§ Vol. ii. p. 67. ‖ Clark. Port. vol. ii. p. 229.

¶ Rathb. Narrat. p. 30. Compare this with Penn's declamation against the terms "person of Christ," in vol. ii. p. 587.

ed,* they have rejected the *outward* Christ, for the inward Christ, whom alone they seem to regard. In Christ's human nature, which is called by them, indiscriminately, "his person," and "the flesh and blood of the vail,"† there dwelt the spirit or light which is Christ;‡ and the same Christ who was without measure in the man Jesus, they make to be in all men in a certain measure. "The scriptures," say they, "expressly distinguish between Christ and the garment that he wore; and we can never call the bodily garment Christ.§ Fox having given a detail of the *inward* crucifixion, and the *inward* resurrection of Christ,‖ has added in as polished a style as he had been in the habit of using to his uninspired antagonists, "Devils and reprobates talk of him without." "The Devil," (he took great liberties with this personage in his exhibitions) "the devil is in thee, for thou sayest thou art saved by the *Christ without.*" And to crown the whole, this apostle adds "*If there be any other Christ than he who is crucified within, he is a false Christ.*"¶ But perchance this may have been uttered in one of those unhappy moments which fell on Fox between two lucid intervals. No, I cannot avail myself of this supposition to excuse him; for Penn actually maintains the orthodoxy of the passage, while he throws his shield over Fox, and frowns defiance on every one who dares demur.**

Further: they seem to deny that the very human nature of Christ in which he suffered death, is in glory in the heavens. "*Your imagined God beyond the stars, and your carnal Christ is utterly denied. To say that Christ is God and man in one person, is a lie!*"†† Fox disputed against the assertion "*that the body of the man Christ that was crucified, is now in the presence of God the*

* In his "Vindication of Jesus' Mir." p. 146. 147. † Pennington's Quest. to Professors, p. 25. ‡ Fox's Saul's Errand to Damas. p. 14. Anc. Edit. § "Principles of the Quak. anc. Edit. p. 126. ‖ "Of his resurrection we (Quakers) are eye-witnesses." Fox's Great Myst. p. 242, and Second Letter to the Bishop of Litchfield, p. 34. ¶ Fox's Great Myst. p. 206, 250, 183. See "Snake, &c." p. 128, Edit. 2.

** Works, vol. ii. p. 674, and 490.

†† See C. Atkinson's terrible book with a terrible name. "The Sword of the Lord Drawn," p. 5, anc. Edit. and "Snake," p. 128 and 379. Edit. 2. and Whitehead's Reply to the Snake, p. 155. A. D 1697. He admits the words as a fair quotation. See also Penn's Defence of them. Works, vol. ii. 612.

Father." And against this, "that Christ is absent from *them as touching the flesh.*" And he gravely maintained that "those who profess a Christ without and one within, make two Christs."* To the same purpose are the words of Friends of the eighteenth century. "*Is the divinity and humanity of Christ divided? can then his godhead be present, and he who is the heavenly man be absent?*"† And Barclay, in defiance of all the principles of his philosophy, goes into the same absurdity. "*The man Christ Jesus is in us,*" says he, "*though not in his whole manhood, but according to that which is proper to us, and yet without all division.*"‡ And Burroughs asserted that "*the very man—the very body—the very Christ of God is within us.*"§

The application of this principle has carried them into another extravagance. As, by their theory, the human nature of our Lord was his "*person;*" and as Christ was the "*spirit*" that resided in Jesus; and as the same "*spirit,*" though in an inferior measure, is in each of them, they talked of "Christ manifest in *their* flesh." To support this, Fox makes the apostle say that "Christ was manifested in his (Paul's) flesh to condemn sin in the flesh."‖ And Penn, full of the same matchless ideas, vehemently exclaims, "If those are called anti-Christs who denied his coming in the flesh, what must they be reputed who as stiffly disown his *inward, nearer, and more spiritual coming in the soul, which is the higher and more noble knowledge of Christ—yea, the mystery hid for ages, and now revealed to his people?*"¶ This is the doctrine sedulously instilled into their youth. "*False ministers preach Christ without, and bid people believe in him, as he is in heaven above: but true ministers preach Christ within.*" "*Is that within thee the only foundation and principle of thy religion? Answer. That of God in me is so; for we know that it is Christ; and being Christ it must needs be only and principal: For that which is only admits not of another—and that which is principal is greatest in being.*"**

Barclay held an opinion that Christ had "*two bodies.*" The

* Great Myst. pp. 211, 210 and 254, and Second Lett. to the Bishop of Litchfield, 1753, p. 22, &c. † "Brief Apol. for Quakers." A. D. 1727 p. 32. ‡ Bar. Works, Lond. 1692, p. 627. § Works, p. 149, and Edit. and "Snake," &c. sect. 10. ‖ Great Myst. p. 206. ¶ Works vol. ii. p. 780. ** Smith's Primer for Quaker Children, p. 8, 9, & 57

one was outward: the other was the "vehiculum Dei," or spiritual body, united to the word as really as his outward body was."*

I shall close this disgusting detail with an additional proof from Penn. "Christ qualified that body for his service. But that body did not constitute Christ." He had just said, "that the holy person, born at *Nazareth*, was the body in which Christ resided." "He is invisible, and ever was to the ungodly world."† And the Christ who dwelt in this body is the Holy Spirit. "For," says he, pressing a text violently into his service, "the Lord is that Spirit."‡ And "I will not leave you comfortless. I will come unto you."§ But how is this to his point? To the inspired, every thing is easy. He determines, by his own authority, that "the Comforter, to be sent from the Father," is no other, and can be no other than Christ in his "spiritual appearance among *them*."‖ And, as a serious difficulty might arise in the minds of them who took the letter of scripture for proof, instead of his sacred revelations, he makes the said text to undergo a convenient alteration, so as to run thus—"I will come a comforter unto you."¶ And thus he makes Christ to send himself from the Father, under the name of the Spirit.**

Finally, let the reader compare all this with the following solemn confession of the Friends of the present day. "We never doubted the truth of the actual birth, life, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

* See his Great Works, edit. 1693, p. 306, and Penn ii. 802. † Vol. ii. pp. 816 and 415.

‡ The terms "*spirit*" and "*Lord*" are terms of *common* application. Thus God is a spirit; and, as a sovereign, he is Lord. For the same reasons Christ is a "spirit," and the Lord; and the Holy Ghost is a spirit, and the Lord. Thus 2 Cor. iii. 18 απο Κυριου Πνευματος "from the Lord the spirit. But it is no where said by divine authority, that Christ is the Holy Spirit; or that the Holy Ghost is the Lord Jesus Christ.

§ John xiv. 18. ‖ Vol. ii. 471, 472. ¶ See vol. ii. 419, 428. See also Barclay Apol. Prop. v. and vi. and "Quakerism Confirmed," sect. 4.

** The text "*Christ is in you except ye be reprobates*," 2 Cor. xiii. 5. has been quoted in support of their "*Christ within*." Our Lord had ascended into heaven bodily, in the presence of his disciples: and his human nature cannot be in more places than one at the same time. Hence it cannot be applied to him *literally*. It is to be referred to him as the image and pattern after which the christian is sanctified. There is a bright and lovely combination of graces in the christian, which constitute a fair though humble resemblance of Christ. This is the image of our Lord; and the name of Christ is put on it to show its *author* and *relation*.

as related by the evangelists, without reserve or diminution, by allegorical explanation.*

§ 3. *Of the Atonement.*—Having ascertained the sentiments of the society respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, we are now prepared to understand their doctrine of the atonement.

Penn has professed his belief in the atonement of Christ. "We own remission of sins, and eternal salvation by the son of God." "We declare that we know of no other name than that of Christ the mighty God, by whom atonement and plenteous redemption comes." "He is the only and complete Saviour from the pollution and guilt of sin."† All their polemics from Barclay to Clarkson, devoutly copy after the same faith; and it is presumed that the society in general, holds this doctrine *in these very words.* For when the Bishop of St. Asaph, in his charge to the clergy of his diocese, in A. D. 1813, ranked the Quakers by the side of the Socinians, as the common enemies of the atonement, it produced a very considerable sensation in the society: and some came out against the Bishop's "error."‡ It is admitted, then, that the society owns the atonement of Christ, and the remission of sins by him."§

But all the world knows that words and phrases are one thing, and that ideas attached to them are another. Here is another most melancholy proof of this. Alas! how little does the religious world know of the doctrines of the Friends. The truth is, that notwithstanding the forms of confession which have been quoted, and which are common in the lips of their speakers; the holy doctrine of the atonement as delivered in the Bible, and taught in the rules and canons of the churches, is denied in the most positive and unqualified terms by every *orthodox Quaker!*‖ The denial is interwoven in their very principles. They never can believe in the atonement of our Lord Jesus, unless they renounce the fundamental principle of the sect—that on which their existence as a society rests. They do deny the most Holy Trinity,

* Mosh. vol. iv. p. 287, edit. of 1821. † See vol. ii. pp. 607, 14, and 617. ‡ Christ. Observ. July 1814. § See London Epist. for A. D. 1732, sect. 8. ‖ Whose tenets are modelled after those of their ancient elders, Penn, Fox, Barclay, &c.

by the denial of the three divine persons in the unity of Godhead; they take away the personal distinction between Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost. And oh! their sentiments on the atonement are dreadfully consistent with these other opinions!*

I will show from authentic writings what atonement they do reject; and what atonement they really own.

The following radical doctrine of the Bible, which is most firmly received by all the Reformed churches, is that which Penn† makes the "*second sandy foundation to be shaken*," namely: "*That it is impossible that God can pardon sin without a plenary satisfaction.*"‡

His sentiments on divine justice will be a fit introduction to this subject. "If God winks at the ignorant, must this man be so prying? If the judge of all the earth will not be strict, ought he to turn inquisitor?"§ The Supreme one being thus represented as indifferent to the claims of strict justice, his reader is prepared for the development of his doctrine of atonement.

A satisfaction or atonement, in the sense defined by the Reformed churches, was not *necessary;* and it was *not given.* On the first position, which he has laid down with a bold hand, he reasons from the case of debts among men. "*It is not called unjust*," says he, "*to forgive a debt:*" but in certain cases it would be a heinous crime. Besides, does it follow that because a debt may be set aside, the infinite claims of divine justice may be destroyed? To set them aside unanswered, unhonoured, would be an act of infinite injustice.‖

On the second position this is the substance of his argument. "If Christ satisfied God's justice, he did it as God, or as man, or as God and man; but he did it not as God, nor as man, nor as God and man:—therefore he has not satisfied God's justice."¶ He has pursued this argument in the most indecent and offensive language, in one of his books**—a book which, in my deliberate opinion, puts Sabellius and Socinus, and perhaps even Priestly

* Consult Stapferi Theol. Polem. vol. iv. cap. 15, sect 29, 30, &c. on the necessary connexion between their principles, and all their errors.
† In vol. ii. p. 248. ‡ Job xxxvi. 18. Psal. xlix. 7, 8, 9, Is. liii. 6. Heb. ix. 22. § Vol. ii. p. 715. ‖ See Turret. loc. iii. Quest. 19. and B. D. Moore, vol. i. p. 675, &c. Dr. Owen on the Justice of God.
¶ See vol. i. p. 248. ** Against Clapham in vol. ii. 13 of his Works.

to the blush! In another place* he has called in the aid of reason—aye! and of scripture, to demonstrate the doctrine of the necessity and reality of the atonement to be "irreligious, absurd, and blasphemous!"

These are equalled only by the impieties of Whitehead. "*Satisfaction was not needful. Cannot God command his wrath? cannot he satisfy and please himself? This is to represent God as more cruel than man.*"† *Christ's sufferings could not be any satisfaction to God's justice for our sins; for they were persecutors who imputed them to him.*"‡ "*Nothing but a creature suffered; he suffered by sinners.*§ *It cannot be that God punishes our sins in Christ to satisfy his justice.*"‖ *God promises pardons on our repentance.*"¶ This is but a partial specimen of the audacious style of their books lying before the public.

On these principles what importance or value can we attach to the death of Jesus Christ? The leaders felt the weight of this question; and their answer has revealed their marvellous harmony with Socinus and Priestly. These taught that our Lord "*sealed*" his testimony with his blood; he fell a martyr to the truth. No more! And was this all the design of his mission? Yes! this system which breathes a withering blast on all our hopes, admits of no more! and Penn admits of no more! Having stated "that a body was prepared for Christ in which he came to fulfil his father's will; that he preached the promise of salvation and remission of sins through him to those who believed; that for this doctrine, and for asserting that he was the *offspring* of God, and one with God, the Jews crucified him;" and his blood "must be believed on as a '*seal*' to ratify and confirm the glad tidings of remission of sin."**

But the society does confess "*an atonement by Christ.*"†† The following quotations will explain at once its nature, and the process by which it accomplishes their salvation. "We believe that *Christ within us* doth offer himself a living sacrifice to God for us, by which the wrath of God is appeased to us. Is there power in that light within me to save me from sin? Yes, all power

* In vol. ii. p. 530. † See his book strangely named "The Divinity of Christ," p. 62. ‡ Do. p. 63. § p. 58, 45. ‖ p. 52. ¶ p. 40. ** See vol. ii. p. 281. †† Lond. Epist. for A. D. 1732, sect. 8.

in heaven and in earth is in it!"* Penn against Faldo defends the orthodoxy of this passage.†

In another place, after a comment on the atonement, which Priestly would have dictated, and the Deist will approve, Penn exclaims: "Is it not more suitable to truth and scripture to believe that God was in Christ, (who is in us) reconciling man to himself, by removing that sin which ruled in their hearts; and by his light giving them to know the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."‡

Barclay gives a clear exposition of his master's views. "*Jesus Christ himself is in the heart of every man and woman in the little incorruptible seed there.*"§ On this mystic dogma he thus rears his wild theory. In those who do not resist, but who act in concert with the labours of this seed within, and *do their best* in this process of mystical parturition, "*their Christ will be brought forth in them.*" This inward birth is a grand era. The "Christ alive in them" works all his works; this is his righteousness. As this grows more and more vigorous by the careful nursing of the subject, it produces astonishing effects. "It counterbalances, it overcomes, it roots out the evil seed in man;" and thence he becomes really "just and holy before God." "Besides this, every other kind of justification is imaginary."‖ And so late as A. D. 1793, Job Scott advocates this frightful mysticism. "*There is no other possible way of salvation but by that of a real conception and birth of the divinity in man.*"¶ And, in regard to faith it is made to correspond to this unparalleled mode of justification. Faith is "the aspect which the soul bends inward on the Christ-there," while "it follows the leading of the internal light."**

In fine, all the Quaker writers from George Fox down to the amiable Henry Tuke, make redemption by Christ and regenera-

* Smith's Catechism. † Vol. ii. 410, and 645. ‡ Vol. ii. p 14.
§ Apology Prop. v. and vi. p. 191, &c. Phil. edit. 1808.
‖ Bar. Apol. Thes. Prop. vii. pp. 190, 199, 210, 220, 232, &c. and Pennington, vol. i. 608.
¶ Quoted from Rathb. Nar. p. 30. See also Clarkson's Port. vol. ii. p. viii. sect. 2. and p. 182, 134. and 230.
** S. Crispp. 323, Phil. edit. 1787. See Pennington i. p. 600, and Penn. ii. 784. Speaking of our Justification by what Christ did *without* us, Penn says, "we boldly affirm it in the name of the Lord, to be the doctrine of devils!" See his Serious Apol. ch. vi. or Works vol. ii. p. 66 and 522. Note.

tion the same. What, we believe, our Lord did on the cross, they believe to be altogether a work within on the human mind. This arises necessarily out of their belief of the Christ within. It is a fatal error woven throughout the whole system!*

§ 4. *Of the Resurrection from the dead.*—The doctrine of the resurrection from the dead is peculiar to the gospel and one of its fundamental articles. To believe it is a peculiar badge of the christian; to deny it is to be guilty of error.† In respect of the body that shall be raised, all admit that it will not partake of the gross nature and qualities with which it is laid in the grave. On this article all the churches of Christ have declared out of the holy scriptures their belief as follows:—That the body shall undergo such a process of purification, that its earthly and gross qualities shall be entirely removed; that its corruption shall be changed into incorruption; its dishonour into glory; its weakness into power; its natural body into a spiritual body; its mortality into immortality: that nevertheless this change in its qualities shall not destroy its essential qualities and nature; that it shall still be the identical body which lived here, and in which the soul resided; that the holy scriptures do teach distinctly that those "*who are in their graves shall come forth; and the many who sleep in the dust shall awake.*" That it was the identical body of our Lord which was raised from the grave, and "*he rose as the first fruits of them that sleep;*" that if the same body is not raised it will not be a resurrection but a creation of new bodies; that if the same body be not raised, the body which was bought by the blood of our Lord and sanctified by the blessed Spirit, and was the instrument by which his good works were performed, shall be lost in the dust, and consumed by the last flames; and another body shall receive the honours and the reward of the Redeemer's purchase—though he is not its saviour, and it can never join in the song of the redeemed in bliss as it was not "redeemed by his blood;" that if the same body is not raised, men do not *receive the things in the body*‡ according to what he has done in this life, al-

* See Pref. of Fox's Journ. and Henry Tuke's "*Principles of the Quakers*," edit. 5, p. 184. Christ. Observer, vol. 13, p. 110. † Matth. xxii. 29, 2 Tim. ii. 18. ‡ 2 Cor. v. 10. The word *done* is an addition of the translator in this text.

though inspiration has declared it; that if the same body be not raised, the bodies of the wicked, the very instruments of sin, shall escape vengeance and sleep in the dust; and in the "*resurrection of damnation*" they shall have other bodies which never were stained by sin, and never partook of guilt, and which it were injustice to subject to punishment.

The sentiments of the society are perfectly at one with those of their masters. "*The body is the prison of the soul*," said the Platonic divines: "*Death is the escape of the soul from it: never again shall it be confined in it. The soul after death, is joined to its aeriform body, and returns into the essence of that Being out of which it was taken.*"*

The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead held by the society,† is, therefore, radically different from that of the Bible.

On this subject there have existed two opinions in the society. *First:* Those whose system has been rigorously consistent with that of their masters, have confined their doctrine on this article exclusively to the mystic resurrection within them.‡ These, as the zealous disciples of Hymeneus and Philetus,§ to whom the venerable Paul paid such marked attention,‖ have taught that "*the resurrection is past already.*"

Second: In the close of the seventeenth century, the leaders of the society being driven to the last resort by the polemics of the day, came out with an avowal of a resurrection "*from the grave.*" But the value of the concession was hardly appreciated, when, to the astonishment of the religious world, they again came out against the resurrection of the same body that was laid in the grave. Here is something marvellous. Here is a raising out of the grave, and yet not of the body that is in the grave. But the persevering Penn, ever undaunted in the hour of fighting, stood out against the shafts of irony, and satire, and argument. He threw his gauntlet down with this challenge: Your resurrection "*is a conceit that agrees better with the Alcoran than with the gospel.*¶ *The absurdity*," says he, "*of the Popish transubstantiation*

* Cicero De Divin. et consol. oper. p. 446. Plat. in his Timæus. Taylor's Platonic Phil. vol. ii. p. 218, and 235, quarto. † Penn vol. ii. p. 896. ‡ Fox, and those of the "*first convincement*," Great Myst. p. 214, &c. § 2 Tim. ii. ver. 17, 18. ‖ 1 Tim. i. 20.

¶ Penn vol. ii. p. 896. What is the gospel in his opinion? The gospel

*is rather out-done than equalled by this fleshly resurrection.** Great spirits are never content with moderate measures; and this often brings men of ancient times into contact with those of modern times. Hence by the same impulse of zeal, for it could not be a designed imitation, Penn renews the very dilemma by which the Sadducees thought to entangle our Lord. "*If they rise so*," he is speaking of the "*same bodies*," "*then every man is to rise married*," et cetera.† And that it may not be supposed that he disputes merely against the rising of the "gross and natural body"—a thing which no man advocates, he takes care to mark the very point against which his hostility is directed; it is against the "*identity and sameness of the body.*"‡

His favourite argument is "*that bodies compounded out of this elementary world, cannot outlive their own matter;*" and that "*dust cannot be eternal.*" . . . . . As if the Almighty cannot make matter as well as spirit eternal!

§ 5. *The second coming of Christ to Judgment.*—Whatever may be the modern sentiments of the society on this article, and they must have undergone, it is hoped, a material change, from the kindly interchange of sentiment in their civil intercourse with the christian world, it is certain that the primitive Friends denied the second coming of the Lord Jesus in human nature to the last judgment.

Their system, in brief, seems to have been this: At death the body returns to its native dust, never again to leave it; the soul returns into the essence of that being out of which it came. Christ does not return to raise the dead, or to separate the righteous

is by Barclay, actually put *within man*. And even the very *preachers*, whose "feet," the apostle says, "are beautiful on the mountains," and the "two edged sword," and "the fire and the hammer"—all, all are actually *within them!* Apol. Prop. v. and vi. sect. 23. Aye! "and Moses and the prophets are *within them*. "Fisher's Velata." p. 4. No wonder it is that a writer said of them "they carry about with them consubstantiation in their bellies."

* Penn vol. ii. ch. 13 of his "Railing against Reason." Against the Popish transubstantiation, or that the bread and wine in the holy supper are in fact changed into the very flesh and the very blood of Christ, we have the evidence of all our senses. But in the "resurrection" there is nothing contrary to reason, or the senses, or experience.

† Vol. ii. 545, compare this *modern* with the *ancient* Sadducee, Matth. xx. 28. ‡ Vol. ii. 544, also Tuke and Clarkson Portr. vol. ii. p. 229.

from the wicked. Little is written by them to elucidate their sentiments on this subject; but that little is awfully decisive. Having admitted Christ's first coming in *the flesh*, they maintain, with warmth, that his second coming was in the effusion of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. "*These we acknowledge*," said G. Whitehead, "*but of no other do we read.*"* "*And those are like to be deceived who expect this personal coming of Christ.*"† And thus they placed themselves in the rank of the bold spirits of St. Peter's time, who demanded "*where is the promise of his coming?*"‡

§ 6. and last. *Of the Future State.*—The sentiments of the society in general, respecting the future state, have not been exactly ascertained. Their chief writers speak in general terms, and avoid minute discussion on this topic. This much, however, is certain, that Burroughs, one of their *inspirati*, uttered in his last moments, this memorable Platonic sentiment, to which I have alluded before: "*Now my soul and spirit is centred into its own being with God, and this form of person must return from whence it came.*"§ And Fox has left these words on record, "that none has a glory and a heaven but within them."‖

"Sic itur—sed non ad astra."

* * * * * * These are the doctrines of the society as exhibited in their books lying before the public. What a contrast to the purity of the gospel! How different from its spirit is the whole body of these doctrines; and the prospects held up by them to man pressing forward to his final destiny! On the one side, the gospel exhibits the character of Deity in its true light; combining in the infinity of perfection, all that is magnificent and glorious with all that is lovely and awful—"*A just God and a Saviour.*" It exhibits the three distinct and divine persons, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in one undivided essence. It spreads before the wandering and disconsolate sinner the most cheering hopes from the atonement of Christ. It points out to man the fatal consequences of giving himself up to the guidance

* See his "*Light Within*," p. 40. † See his "*Christ Ascended*," p. 23, and his "*Nature of Christ*," p. 29, and Fuller's "*Reply to* 12 *Queries*," p. 81. ‡ 2 Pet. iii. 3, 4. § Howgill's Testim. prefixed to the Works of Burroughs' folio, A. D. 1673. ‖ Great Myst. p. 214, old edit. See Bugg's Pict. of Quak. p. 399, &c. &c.

of his own heart, or of any principle within him; it woos him away from every false hope, and directs him to the exalted Saviour in heaven; it paints in proper colours the vanity of all sublunary objects; it supports the pilgrim when ready to sink in despair under the pressure of human woes; it guides him through the mazes of folly by the pure and steady light of truth; it leads him into the possession of all that is virtuous and lovely; it refreshes him from the living streams of salvation; it cheers his drooping spirit in the last fearful conflict; it lights up with holy joy the countenance of the dying christian, and throws its lovely beams of hope on the soul of the bending mourner as he conveys the dead to the silent tomb; it carries the soul of the sleeping pilgrim to the bright realms of glory, and thither it guarantees the certain ascension of the same body which he lays in the grave; there to reap the rich rewards of the divine love in pure and perpetual bliss.

But on the other side, turn your eyes on these prospects set before our pilgrim. There lovely nature ceases to smile; a withering blast has passed over the face of the land; the herbs have perished; the flowers have faded; the forest has shed its leaves; the whirlwind has swept them away; the pestilence has walked in secret, and spent its energies on animated nature; desolation scowls from his throne of darkness.—For oh! the sun has set over that world. His kindly influences are gone—and gone is that divine person who redeemed by purchase and by power, the trembling pilgrim; and gone too is that divine person who led his steps into the paths of righteousness. The lamp of truth flashes in the socket, and threatens to leave him in the gloom of despair; every object presents a dreary aspect; he moves through darkness to a land unknown; shifting phantoms hover round him; unearthly voices tempt him to turn inward on the energies of his own mind, and seek what is necessary there. At the sight of the moral chaos within, he is thrown back with encreasing sorrow on what is without. The pitiless storm mingles its terrors with the ragings of the mountain stream: the thunders roar; the lightning's livid glare reveals the face of nature in her new deformities; the demon of the storm mingles his unearthly shrieks with the roaring of the thunder, and lashing the whirlwind into

fury, he rides over his head, and threatens to "*carry him away in a tempest of the night!*" Return, O pilgrim! from the valley of the shadow of death; return to the valley of vision. This is the land of light; hither thy God beckons thee; here thy Saviour stretches out his arms to receive thee; here the Comforter will dry up thy tears. And when the years of thy life shall be numbered he will bear thee away to the land of the blessed; and the church will embalm thy memory in her sweet remembrance, while with a tear she pronounces "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord!"

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PROEM.

THE immortal author of *a Tale in a Tub* has indubitably been unjust to brother John in the matter of brother Peter's coat. He makes the said John Presbyter to fall outrageously on Peter's coat, and despoil it of every portion of its embroidery, of its unnecessary foldings and loop-holes and buttons. And, moreover, he makes him, through the excess of zeal, to displace these supernumeraries, actually to tear and rend the garment in sundry places. Now to whatever lengths the zeal of John did carry him—and he went great lengths (lauded be his zeal,) in reducing brother Peter's coat to a christian-like shape and condition, I aver, and I offer to prove it, that the action which the aforesaid immortal author ascribes to brother John, was in its literal extent done by *brother George*. John's coat possesses not only every necessary item of loop and button, durability, and gracefulness, but moreover, it is modestly equipped with a just apportionment of embroidery; but George's violence has not only stript off all ornaments, and all necessaries, but it has rent and mangled it to such a degree that it has no earthly resemblance to a coat; nor is it even fit to cover his nakedness! The proof of this is forthcoming.

And with my reader's permission, dropping this figure, I shall enter on the proofs OF THE DEFECTS OF THE QUAKER SYSTEM IN POINT OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

§ 1. *Of the Lord's Day.* "Περι τας ἑβδομας ἡμερας ὁι παντες ἀνθρωποι ὁμοιως ὀμοιαζουσι.—THEOPHILUS ANTIOCH.—The Quakers reject the fourth commandment; and of course they deny the morality of the Sabbath. With them all days are alike holy; with them "every day is the Lord's day." "The immediate movings of the spirit are not limited to time or place;"* and they strenuously assert that there is no authority from scripture making or declaring the first day of the week the christian Sabbath.

* Bar.

It* is admitted by all that a portion of our time must be devoted exclusively, to the service of Almighty God; and it is very evident that this time ought to be so fixed and universally understood, that the christian world may enter on its solemn services without distraction or misunderstanding. If divine authority has not fixed a day, what earthly power could dictate to the whole christian world? And if all men are left to fix their own time, what a scene of confusion and disorder would be produced in society!

The testimony of the Bible is clear and definite that "*the God of Order*" has not left such an important point unsettled. From the beginning "*God blessed the Sabbath day and sanctified it;*" or set it apart. The observance of this "*rest*" could not be designed for the Most High in any other respect than that it should be sacred to his service. Hence it was ordained for man's favour and benefit.

This "*rest*" or "*Sabbath*" is noticed as existing and actually observed by public consent, previous to the publication of the fourth commandment.† And in that precept the injunction is so expressed as to recognise a former precept on this subject. "*Remember* the Sabbath day to keep it holy."

Now, this precept is enrolled with the other nine which are exclusively moral. And as it has a special reference to the divine worship, it is most certainly a moral precept. But even admitting that we were to give up what is called its morality, the weight of its obligation would not be lessened in a single grain by the admission; far less would it thereby be abrogated. It would still be a divine precept; and as a divine precept it is as positive and as binding as that which enjoins Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The keeping of the Sabbath is an ordinance of perpetual obligation in the church. Its existence in the church after the introduction of the christian dispensation, and the conversion of the Gentiles, is distinctly foretold by a prophet.‡ Our Saviour's discourse assumes it as a matter of fact not to be questioned, that

* I have made a free use of President Edwards' Sermon on the Sabbath, to illustrate and confirm *our* views on this subject.

† Exod. xvi. v. 23, 26. ‡ Isa. lvi. 6, 7, 8.

the Sabbath would be observed as usual when the Jewish ceremonies and legal rites should have ceased.* And all these are predicated on the most certain truth, that the precept "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," stood unrepealed—and should maintain its authority till the last trumpet should sound the last note of time.

The Sabbath has been changed from the seventh to the first day of the week; or rather we should say, it has probably now reverted to that day on which it was observed by Adam and the patriarchs. It is certain that the Sabbath of Adam, though the seventh day of time, was yet the first entire day that he saw.† And it is most natural to suppose—and there is nothing repugnant to it in scripture, that he began the computation of the days of the week from the first entire day that he beheld. Thus it may be fairly said that the Sabbath became, in future computions, the first day of the week. This argument receives additional strength from the following historical facts: When the descendants of Adam apostatized from the worship of the true God, they substituted in his place the sun; that luminary which, more than all others, strikes the minds of savage people with religious awe, and which, therefore, all heathens worship. They carried with them indeed the day on which their fathers worshipped; but they worshipped the sun. Hence the day was called the sun's day in the language of their respective nations.‡ Hence as the learned Selden has shown, Sunday, the day observed by the patriarchs as their Sabbath, was the *first day of the week* in the nations of the east, and is so still.§ Thus the Sabbath of the

* Matth. xxiv. 20.

† He was created the last of living things, after the morning of the sixth day. Hence the Jewish doctors say "man was created in the evening," i. e. the beginning "of Sabbath." Talmud. See Witsius Econ. of the Cov. vol. i. book i. ch. 7.

‡ "Ἡ του ἡλιου λεγομενη ἡμερα." The day called Sunday. Justin. Mart. Apol. ii. sub fin. Paris edit. or Apol. i. Thirlby's edit. p. 98. In the same place, J. Martyr makes the day on which God rested, and the day on which our Lord rose, the same, or first day.

§ Seld. Jus. Nat. et Gent. lib. iii. c. 22. That the ancient nations of the East computed time by seven days, Dion Cassius asserts, lib. 33. That this was a very ancient custom, Herodotus declares, lib. 2. Josephus against Appion. ii. ad fin. says that no city of the Greeks, that no city of the Barbarians was ignorant of the custom of observing the seventh day or portion of time. See Grotius de Veritate lib. i. sect. 16.

patriarchs was the Sunday of the pagans. The Jews alone of all the eastern nations seem to have had the day changed. As God altered the beginning of their year,* so he changed the day of their worship from the first to the seventh day, to commemorate their deliverance on that day from Egypt. Hence the fourth precept viewed as a moral precept, and binding on the church in all ages, is enforced by the consideration of God resting on that day, and sanctifying it.† But when it is applied to the particular case of the Jewish church, that precept is enforced by another consideration. "The Lord brought thee from Egypt by a mighty hand; therefore the Lord thy God hath commanded thee to keep *this Sabbath day.*"‡

When therefore, Judaism ceased, the seventh day Sabbath naturally ceased with it.§ And hence, considering the divine command that enjoined on Adam and his posterity, the keeping of the Sabbath to be still of force, (and it never has been repealed by God) it is easy to see that on the abolition of Judaism, the Sabbath reverted from the seventh to the first day of the week, without the necessity of any additional command on the subject.‖

Our first day Sabbath is, therefore, the same with the original Sabbath of the church of God, previous to the peculiarities of Judaism.

This is the Sabbath that is ordained to be of perpetual obligation. The church observed the Sabbath at first to commemorate the finishing of the creation. And the same reason still binds us. But there is an encreased obligation laid on us by our Lord. On the first day of the week he rose from the dead: this finished the work of our redemption—the most glorious of all the works of God. And as the Author of the old creation rested from his

* Exod. xii. 2. † Exod. xx. 11.

‡ Deut. v. 15. See the original. The term Sabbath has the demonstrative or emphatic prefix, יום השבת Sabbati hujus diem. And to the same purpose are the words of Ezek. xx. 12. "*I gave them my Sabbaths.*" "*My Sabbaths*" which were on the first days to the patriarchs "*I gave to them*" on their seventh day. This construction is, in my opinion, more natural than that of Dr. Paley. Phil. book v. ch. 7.

§ The Jewish proverb thus rendered into Latin by Grotius, (De Veritate lib. v. sect. 10, note.) "*Circumcisio pellit Sabbatum,*" has been made literally true. With circumcision the Jewish Sabbath is gone.

‖ Kennicot's Dissert. on the oblations of Cain and Abel, p. 184, &c. Guyse's note on Col. ii. 16. and Dr. Owen on the Sabbath.

works, and ordained in the church a Sabbath to commemorate the finishing of that work, so our Lord, the author of the new creation, the redemption of man, has ordained a Sabbath to commemorate his finished work. We have the highest authority for this argument. An inspired writer has expressly used it. "*There remaineth, therefore, a rest* for the people of God: for he that is entered into his rest, has himself ceased from his works, as God did from his.*" But Christ rose on the first day of the week. Hence on the first day only, can we commemorate his finished work.

And if there have been even the shadow of a doubt left by any obscurity in these intimations of his will, those peculiar honours which our Lord conferred on the first day Sabbath have entirely removed them. On this day he rose from the dead; on this day he appeared to his two disciples going to Emmaus; on this day he appeared in the midst of his disciples once and again;† on this day he poured out the Holy Ghost in his extraordinary gifts on his apostles;‡ and it was on this day that he disclosed the revelations to St. John for the comfort of the church in every vicissitude of her pilgrimage.

The following will illustrate the fact that the command "to remember the Sabbath day" is not revoked. An apostle has delivered this precept: "Upon the first day of the week let every one lay by him in store."§ . . . . . Two things are here enjoined; a duty, and the time fixed for that duty. A collection must be made for the poor saints; and this collection must be made on "the first day of the week;" and this high authority enjoins the last as decisively as the first. But collections for the saints were always made by the churches in their weekly assemblies for worship. Hence in connexion with remembering the poor, the precept involves an injunction to meet for divine worship "on the first day of the week."

There is another argument which ought to be brought into view. This Sabbath is in the New Testament called "*the Lord's day.*"‖ Now when God puts his name on persons or things, he

* "Σαββατισμος," the keeping of a Sabbath, Heb. iv. 9, 10.

† John xx. 19 and 26. ‡ It was on Pentecost, or the fiftieth day; which, according to the statement of Moses, was the day succeeding the Jewish Sabbath. See Levit. xxiii. 15, 16.

§ 1 Cor. xvi. 2, &c. ‖ Rev. i. 10.

intimates that they are in a peculiar manner devoted to him for no common display of his glory. If this day, then, be the Lord's day, it must be specially devoted to him in religious services. The friends affirm that "every day is the Lord's day." This is mere shuffling to evade the argument. St. John fixes by these terms, the precise period on which he received his holy revelations. It was on "the Lord's day;" he could not without the imputation of trifling, mean every day, or any day. This phrase is, in fact, not singular nor obscure; its meaning is clearly determined in other particulars. Thus we say the "Lord's prayer," the "Lord's supper." No man complains of the obscurity of these phrases; we know distinctly at first view, what idea is meant to be conveyed by them. Can any thing except prejudice, prevent us from admitting that the phrase "*Lord's day*" marks as distinctly the relation of that day to our Lord, as the phrase "*Lord's supper*" does the relation of that institution to him? Will the Quaker admit that "every prayer is the Lord's prayer? that every supper is the Lord's supper?"

But has not an apostle classed "Sabbath days" with the abolished ceremonies of the Jews?* He has—and this, instead of operating against our argument, confirms what we have been advancing. The sacred writers *invariably* use the term *Sabbath* in the New Testament, when writing of the Jewish rest. And this establishes the fact that they have abolished the seventh day Sabbath. *But the command given before the law of ceremonies to keep a day of rest, stands unrepealed.*

Finally: the authentic records of the church establish the fact that christians in every age of the new dispensation, have kept the Sabbath on the first day of the week. The ancients mention in explicit terms, not only the fact, but their reasons for doing so. "Παλαι ἦν εν τοις αρχαιοις το τιμιον σαββατον, μετεθηκε δε ὁ Κυριος την του σαββατου ἡμεραν εις κυριακην."† "Of old there was among the ancients the honourable Sabbath; but our Lord changed the day of Sabbath to the Lord's day."

Now if this had not the sanction of our Lord, it was an unwar-

* Barclay's Obj. from Col. ii. 16.

† Athanasius In Homul. de Semente. and B. D. Moor Com. ii. p. 829, also see Bingh. Orig. Eccles. vol. v. lib. 13, c. 9, 10, and vol. ix. lib. 20, c. 2. Turret. vol. ii. 85, &c.

rantable innovation; if so, when was it made? In no age posterior to the apostolical, for we can trace it up to that period. If an innovation, by whom was it first made? by an individual? No uninspired person could move the church to an innovation so general. By a particular church? no particular church could dictate to the church universal. By the whole church perhaps this custom was introduced; but where did that ever meet in council? Never, unless in the sacred college of the apostles; and to no other source can we trace the origin of this change. Our Lord withdrew the peculiarities of Judaism. Their Sabbath receded with the rest; the original precept was recognised to be in full force; and these inspired ministers of Christ acted under its authority, and set us a sure and safe example.

If these things are so, there must be a radical defect in that system which rejects the moral obligation to keep the Lord's day; and no human authority or contrivance can supply what is thence lacking. But they do assemble for worship on the Sabbath; and, as if to make atonement for the violence which their father's offered to the fourth commandment, they do observe, with equal solemnity, another day in the week besides that. But the Sabbath which they keep is, on their plea, not enjoined by the authority of heaven; and if it be not enjoined, it is a human device, unwarrantably intruded into the service of their Creator. And hence they place themselves by the side of those to whom the Most High has said, "*Who hath required this at your hands? the calling of assemblies I cannot away with. It is iniquity even the solemn meeting.*"* They keep a Sabbath, and another day, and have no divine authority for it!—This is to be set down with the works of supererogation; it is a kind of venturous rivalship in his Holiness' zeal, who instead of resting in the number of sacraments fixed by the authority of heaven, has liberally provided his church with seven: or in that of the still more liberal Dr. Deacon of England, whose burning zeal has swelled the list of the sacraments to twelve!† Hence on the principles of the Friends, their meeting for worship on *First-days* is not required by any law of God. It is therefore, on their part, an act of deliberate *will worship* in the sight of God!

* Isa. i. 12, 13. † See his "*View of Christianity.*" octavo. Published in the year 1748.

§ 2. *Of the Holy Sacraments.*—In the house of God, there are, besides the preaching of the gospel, the holy sacraments. By the former, divine truths are conveyed to us by the sense of hearing; by the latter, passing through a variety of the senses, they strike the mind with deeper force. "Wert thou a soul without a body," said the eloquent Chrysosthom, "our Lord would have conveyed to thee his gifts naked, and without sensible signs: but as thy soul is united to thy body, he has delivered them by visible things." Thus he employs means adapted to our nature. By the preaching of the gospel he produces faith; by the sacraments he confirms it in our diffident and wavering minds, and seals his love upon our hearts.

These sacraments are two: Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The society has rejected both of these institutions. This is the necessary consequence of the *first error* of their system. Their Christ and their worship are wholly *within*. Those ordinances, therefore, which direct their minds to that Christ, and to those objects *without them*, are not only useless, but positively injurious. They ought, of course, to cease; and they have ceased. This is their doctrine and the form of their defence.* And all else that is offered by their advocates, resemble the stratagems of a retreating enemy. They are merely hindrances thrown up to prevent a pursuit. They do not pretend to be guided by the scriptures. Their guide is *within them*. But they deem it lawful for them to take the benefit of all that they can produce out of them, in the shape of objections, against those who make the Holy Bible the standard of truth and duty.

Of Baptism.—"Καί τῦν τί μελλεις· Ανασας βάπτισαι."—The following is the whole amount of their objections to this institution. "*There is but one baptism. That one baptism is not water baptism. It is Christ's baptism of the Holy Ghost. Water baptism was only the figure of the baptism of the Spirit. The latter has been conferred on us. The former, therefore, has ceased.*"†

The argument is founded on a false assumption, and the whole body of it is a combination of error and sophistry.

* The argument that takes away their *light within*, and their revelations, takes away this doctrine and their argument.

† Bar. Thes. and Prop. xii.

For, *first*—The word *baptize*, in its original and universal acceptation, signifies to wash; and it implies as necessarily the presence and use of water, as the phrase, to rain, does the falling of water. It is used, like many other terms, in a figurative sense. But when it is used in that sense, it is always qualified by words, which leave no doubt of what is intended. Thus, "*He will baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.*" So is the phrase "*to rain*" used in a figurative sense. "*God rained manna and flesh from heaven.*" But when the simple term "*baptize*" is used, it can no more imply the baptism of the Holy Ghost, than the term "*rain*" can imply the fall of manna, or of flesh; and this original and classical meaning of the word is not to be departed from, unless the authority of the context shall clearly decide that a figurative sense is intended. Far less should it be confounded with any thing more remote from this signification.*

Second—The term baptize is in several instances used in a figurative sense, and each of these instances brings to view a different kind of baptism. The fathers distinguished them into three classes.† The first is the baptism of the Holy Ghost. There are six texts in which this kind is mentioned; and a single expression of our Lord clearly determines in what sense these are to be understood. "*Ye*," the apostles, "*shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence.*" This took place on the day of Pentecost. Hence this baptism differed from the baptism of John, both in manner and in design. In the latter, water was used as the sacred symbol. The candidate professed his faith in Christ, and pledged himself in solemn vows to repent of his sins, and to lead a pious life. In the former no water was used. There appeared in the baptized apostles "*cloven tongues like as of fire.*"‡ They spoke in foreign tongues, and received other miraculous powers. As to the latter, our Lord and his disciples

* I have known well informed Quakers assert not only that "*baptism*" meant the baptism of the Holy Ghost, but that in the commission of the apostles, Matth. xxviii. 19, it is perfectly synonymous with the words "*to teach*;" and Barclay, with the rage which possesses the society of putting all *within* them, makes the water John iii. 5, to be *inward mystical water!* p. 455.

† "Baptismus, 1. Flaminis, 2. Luminis, 3. Sanguinis. [The 4. (fluminis) is *water baptism.*]

‡ Math. iii. 22. Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. John i. 33. Acts i. 5, and ch. xi. 16.

even in the days of John, "*made and baptized more disciples than John.*" But the baptism of the Holy Ghost was not conferred until our Lord had ascended; and this distinction is thus clearly marked by the highest authority. "*As yet the Holy Ghost had fallen upon none of them; only they were baptized in the name of Jesus.*"*

The second is the baptism of doctrine. "*The baptism of John, whence was it?*" *They were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea.*"

The third is the baptism of blood. "*I have a baptism to be baptized with.*" This took place in the garden of Gethsemane, when our Lord's "*sweat was as great drops of blood falling down on the ground.*"†

And we may add a fourth; the inward baptism of the Holy Spirit, which, together with the outward baptism by water, makes the one baptism common to all true christians. This is intended in the following words. "*By one spirit are we all baptized into one body.*" This is to be carefully distinguished from "*the baptism of the Holy Ghost.*‡ The apostles most certainly had the grace of God in them long before the day of Pentecost. After they were baptized with water; after they had been baptized by the Spirit, then, into one body, our Lord said, "*ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.*" It is evident, therefore, that at their baptism with water, or at any rate, at the moment of their conversion, they "*were baptized by the Spirit.*" At Pentecost, they were baptized with the Holy Ghost. The first was the baptism of the Spirit in his saving and special influences. The last was the baptism of the Spirit in his miraculous gifts. The first regarded them as true christians; the last qualified them as true apostles. I have not met with a Quaker or a Quaker writer who does not invariably confound these two, as they always do confound the saving gifts with the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost.

* Acts viii. 16, 17. See Pool. Synops. in Matth. iii. 11.

† Luke xii. 50. See also Mark x. 39.

‡ These three are distinctly mentioned in the narrative of Paul's conversion. He was baptized by the spirit of special grace, Acts ix. 6 and 11—by the "Holy Ghost" in his extraordinary gifts, verse 17, compared with ch. viii. 15, &c. and by the baptism of water under the ministry of Ananias. "Arise and be baptized." "And he arose and was baptized." Ch. xxii. 16.

We have thus made it out, that there is a plurality of baptisms. And thus we have destroyed the ground-work of Barclay, and the society's fabric—"*that there is but one baptism.*"

Third: Since there is a plurality of baptisms, we must explain that much injured quotation,*—"*There is one baptism,*" according to the analogy of faith. In exhorting christians to unity, the apostle brings a forcible motive from the facts, that "*there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism.*" This is very different from the turn which the apologist gives to the text: he says, "there is but one baptism."† Were a mediator to interpose his good offices between two contending powers, and exhort them to forbearance and peace, by reminding them that they were brethren, originally of one family, and that they had *one language*, could it be justly inferred that he asserted that "there was but *one language?*—would it not be evident that he fixes on one that is common to both; while he omits the mention of others that were foreign to his subject. On this principle we explain the expression—you have "one baptism" common to you as christians; you are all baptized with the same element; you have the same renovation of mind and spirit, which is signified and sealed by this external rite. It includes the same profession of faith in your common Lord; it binds you to the same duties. He could not have brought a motive from any other baptism: no other baptism was common to them all. And this "*one baptism*" according to the literal and classical meaning of the word, is that baptism which we advocate, and which we practise.

Hence Barclay's first position is false in fact, and it is founded on a deception. He puts the term "*but*" into this sacred clause of our Saviour's testament; and had it been a human testament, it would have been felony in law; and he makes the divine instrument say "there is *but* one baptism." And on this *fraud* he builds his miserable sophism!

But even allowing him all the benefit of this fraud—allowing that there "*is but one baptism,*" his doctrine has no foundation here; for the church teaches that the outward means and the inward grace, are the "*one baptism*" common to all true believers. By the outward baptism of water "*they put on Christ*" by profes-

* From Eph. iv. 5. † Bar. Apol. Prop. xii. sect. 3. p. 427.

sion; and thence have the common relation of membership to each other. By the inward baptism of the spirit "*they put on Christ*" in reality: and thence have the common relation of God's children.

This is a point on which I never could get a Quaker to do the church justice. While we do carefully distinguish these two, we do not separate them. We do not advocate water baptism to the exclusion of the baptism of the spirit; we do not expect to obtain the latter without employing the former; we do not consider the outward baptism to be the component part of the inward. No—the last bears the relation to the first which the end bears to the means. And this connexion is established clearly, and by the highest authority.*

Did the Friends make themselves acquainted with the sentiments of the church, on this distinction between the means and the grace, and on the nature of the connexion between the means and the end, they certainly had not brought against her these erroneous imputations.† Their error lies in taking it for granted that we confound the external baptism with the internal; that we make water baptism the whole baptism intended; or that we make the former in such a way a part of the latter, that where the one is, there must be the other.

This distinction between the means and the grace, is marked in a striking manner by that much injured text. "*Baptism doth also now save us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh.*"‡

Here two baptisms are mentioned. The Friends admit this. The apostle does not set aside as unnecessary, either the one or the other; he carefully distinguishes them, and assigns to each its own distinct place in our salvation. "*Baptism saves us,*" but it is "*not the putting away of the filth of the flesh.*" It is not the external washing that is the whole baptism. It does "*save us;*" but it is only as the means; it represents; it seals; it applies the blood of Christ: and it is by the blood of Christ alone, applied through his institutions, by the Divine Spirit, that we are saved.

It is on this text that Barclay—that the whole society hang up

* In Mark xvi. 16, and Eph. v. 26. Gal. iii. 27.

† That our doctrine will infer that all those who are baptized will have "*put on Christ,*" and will be saved. ‡ 1 Pet. iii. 21.

that weight, the sin which besets them. "*Water baptism*," say they, "*is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh—therefore water baptism is not the true baptism.*"* This is worse than sophistry; it is an absurdity; it is paramount to this: Because the means are not the blessed agent; because the means are not the blessed effect; therefore, there is no necessity for the use of means. It is not only an absurd objection, it has a licentious tendency; it will detract from the honour of every ordinance of the Most High. Circumcision, for instance, was certainly enjoined by divine authority. The apostle explaining the use of it, says "*Neither is that circumcision which is in the flesh; but circumcision is that of the heart in the spirit.*" Had Barclay—had any Quaker been introduced to Abraham, or to Moses, he would have reasoned thus: as he has argued against baptism. "The outward act of circumcision is not the circumcision of the heart; and it is certain that the outward cannot produce the inward: that of the heart, therefore, is the only true circumcision. And it is unwarrantable and trifling in you, Abraham, and in you, Moses, to circumcise the foreskin of the flesh!" . . . . . Verily the children of our modern Zipporahs have reason to offer up daily gratitude to God, because they do not live under the ancient order of things! The tavern scene of Moses might be repeated to them with circumstances of encreased terror and destruction!

Every Quaker who walks devoutly in the steps of Barclay, makes baptism, by water, the figure of baptism by the Holy Ghost; and, gravely asserts that because the latter has come, the former has past away. But, unhappily for this argument, it is built on a false assumption. There is not, on the page of holy writ, even an insinuation that baptism, by water, is the figure of the baptism of the Holy Ghost; and that the first was to cease when the last was conferred is assumed without proof. Nay, it is assumed in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary. At Pentecost, the baptism of the Holy Ghost took place. And, it is evident, that under the eyes of the apostles, special care was taken in the succeeding ages, during the purest days of

* This is borrowed from Barclay, Apol. Prop. xii. sect. 1 and 4, proofs 4 and 5, by Pike on Bapt. p. 11, A. D. 1703. The objection is on the lips of every Quaker who does possess an idea on the subject.

the church, that all who embraced the gospel should be baptized with water.*

The Quakers have resorted to the following words for an argument against baptism. They are the words of John. "*He must increase; but I must decrease.*" Before this can assume the form of an effective argument, the critics of the society must make it out, by some singular process of argument, that John and water baptism were one individual thing—and must decrease before Christ and his baptism . . . . . which must be also one and the same thing—according to their premises!

Fourth: This doctrine of the society involves in it a series of contradictions. The true and literal meaning of the word "baptize," say they, is not to baptize with water, but with the Holy Ghost.—This supposition sets aside the authority of the Greek classics: it supposes that the figurative use of words existed before their natural and original sense: it makes language vague and uncertain: it denies that the sacred penman used the current language of Greece: that he imposed arbitrary meaning on words, to the manifest deception of his readers. If this supposition be true, the apostles were without grace, and without faith, and without the love of God—until the day of Pentecost, when they were baptized with the Holy Ghost. If this supposition be true, then no man is baptized—that is, on their principles, no man has the Holy Spirit, who has not, like the apostles, extraordinary gifts, and can work miracles. This supposition is made in the face of holy writ. For some "*were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, on whom the Holy Ghost had not yet fallen.*"† If this supposition be true, the apostles must have baptized "with the Holy Ghost," those who had the Holy Ghost. The centurion, for instance, and his attendants, and Crispus, were devout worshippers of the true God.‡ And they must, therefore, have been endued with the Holy Spirit. And yet, after this proof of their having the Spirit, the apostle ordered them to be baptized—that is, on their principle, they conferred on them the Holy Ghost. If this supposition be true, the apostle who exhorted the people in these words, "*repent and*

* Acts ii. 38, &c. &c. † Acts viii. 18. ‡ Acts x. 2 and 48, xviii. 8.

be baptized, every one of you, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost," is held up as an idle proser, publishing this truism—which needed no powers of inspiration to dictate it—"*Be baptized with the Holy Ghost, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost.*"

Fifth: The sentiments of the society slander the venerable and inspired apostles. Peter having perceived that the "*Holy Ghost had fallen*" on his Gentile audience, made this appeal to every heart present: "*Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized!*"* And he commanded them to be baptized. Barclay admits the fact that the apostle did baptize with water. What! after Pentecost? after the baptism of the Holy Ghost? Has he surrendered the point?—No, it is saved by the good old convenient maxim—"What will not bend must break." He impugns the authority of the apostle; he denies that the *fact* proves the *right*; he denies that he had any authority to baptize with water. He ranks this action of the apostle by the side of an error which he ventures to ascribe to him, "that he constrained the Gentiles in general, to be circumcised;"† and leaves his readers to infer that the baptism with water was as unwarrantable as this.‡ . . . . . Oh! the impious daring of men, whom distinguished talents have thrown forward into the first ranks of error! And whose unholy hands labour to subdue every thing to the measure of their system. . . . . The venerable apostle had been called to account for trespassing the limits which national prejudice had fixed between the Jews and the Gentiles: he had justified himself in the presence of the apostles, by a detail of the circumstances which led him to it: he had appealed to his Lord for the authority under which he had acted, in teaching and baptizing the Gentiles. "*What was I that I could withstand God?*" On hearing this, friends and foes "*held their peace.*" They

* Acts x. 47. † Apol. Prop. xii. sect. 9.

‡ There is no evidence that St. Peter constrained the Gentiles to be circumcised. He was rebuked by another apostle for dissembling, and for compelling the Gentiles "*to live like the Jews.*" Gal. ii. 11. But this does not involve the charge of Barclay. And it is certain that in the Synod of Jerusalem in A. D. 52, Peter did publicly contend that the Gentiles *should not be circumcised*, Acts xv. And even admitting, for a moment, that St. Peter had been guilty of this, he would have been trampling on the decree of the Synod of Jerusalem; which set the Gentiles free from circumcision. Hence even on Barclay's ground the two cases are not parallel. Barclay does, therefore, slander St. Peter.

ceased to blame. "*They glorified God*" for what was done. It was reserved for a Catholic college of Paris to produce a pupil who should refuse "*to hold his peace*," and who should condemn the holy apostle:—aye, and the whole college of the apostles! Nor does the sanctity of the apostle Paul escape their severity. They represent him as actually asserting that he had no commission to baptize;* and yet they allow, he did baptize with water. But he had a commission; he had it in common with the rest; "*Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them.* . . . . And he did baptize with water.† This is a valuable comment on the meaning of the terms in the commission. It is not once to be laid in the balance with the theories of system makers; and his words which are abused to a foreign purpose, must be explained in a manner consistent with his commission and his actual practice. "*Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach.*" That is, he was sent not "*principally to baptize.*" This work belonged chiefly to the ordinary ministers of the church. He was sent chiefly to preach and plant churches; for this was the weighty duty of an apostle.‡

Sixth—The doctrine of the society involves in it something worse than contradictions. That baptism in the commission of the apostles, they make to be the baptism of the Holy Ghost:§ and this baptism of the Holy Ghost includes his special influences and his miraculous powers. With this baptism, the apostles, say they, did baptize their audiences. And thus the apostles had power to give the Holy Ghost, in his saving influences, and in his miraculous gifts.

Every Quaker is in the habit of making invidious distinctions between Christ's baptism and water baptism. The last is only

* Barclay's Apol. Prop. xi. sect. 7. p. 442.

† The society admits that he baptized with water; for otherwise it would follow that he "*thanked God that he baptized few*" with the Holy Ghost; or that he was not "*sent to baptize*" with the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. i. 14, 16.

‡ The practice of St. Peter throws a clear light on this fact. He did not baptize the converts himself, he "*commanded them to be baptized*," Acts x. 38. In the following passage we have an instance of the negative term "*not*" used in the above sense. "*I desired mercy and not sacrifice.*" Hos. vi. 6. Matth. ix. 13. Sacrifices were enjoined by divine authority; but mercy was required *principally*. In the following texts the critic may find additional instances. Jer. vii. 22, 23. 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4. John xv. 22, 24, &c. § Bar. Apol. Prop. xii. p. 450.

a washing in water. The first made by the Holy Spirit. Men may baptize with water. Christ only could baptize with the Holy Ghost.

But, when they are pressed for an argument against the apostles' commission "*to baptize with water*," they spontaneously give up this distinction. They cease to claim for Christ the exclusive honour of baptizing with the Holy Ghost. They even advocate warmly what before they were sure was wrong. They are certain that the apostles—*that men did baptize with the Holy Ghost.**

The baptism of the Holy Ghost cannot be effected by man. It is infinitely beyond the reach of human power. It is competent to God alone. Hence the language held by the holy scriptures. "*He will baptize you with the Holy Ghost.*" "*The Father will send you the Holy Ghost.*" There is no evidence that a commission is given to man to baptize with this baptism. In no place is it on record that man has done it, or that man can do it.

If the apostles baptized with the Holy Ghost, they did it either as the *agents* or as the *means*. Not as the agents could they do it.† They could not usurp the prerogative of God. In all their official deeds they occupied the humble stations of instruments; whose movements, and whose very existence were absolutely at the divine disposal. And it is a maxim resting on the highest authority, and useful in leading the critic into the correct meaning of many passages of sacred writ, that our Lord and his ministers are said "*to do that which the means employed by them have a moral tendency to produce.*"‡ Apply this to the different baptisms of the Spirit. St. Paul was sent to "*open the eyes of the blind, to turn from the power of Satan to God.*" This he did, simply by publishing and expounding the truths of the gospel. He disclaimed all agency that might be suspected of trenching on the honour of his Lord. "*Paul may plant, Apollos may water, but God giveth the increase.*" On the contrary, if his teaching had, as the Quakers say, been his act of baptizing with the Holy Ghost, his gifts would have been as extensive and as general as his teaching among the Gentiles.

* Barclay is very positive on this. See Prop. xii. sect. 8, p. 450.

† Barclay says, yes, as instruments—p. 450.

‡ See some fine illustrations and proofs of this in Ezek. xxiv. 13. Matth. xxiii. 37. Acts xxvi. 18, &c.

Let us also extend this to the baptism of the Holy Ghost, as it respects, most properly, his miraculous gifts. The apostles implored heaven for these gifts. As they prayed, they laid their hands on those for whom they besought them. This action was a sign by which they marked out to their audience the person on whom the gift was to be conferred; and it was done not without a prophetic impulse, by which they knew that their prayers were heard, and that the Holy Ghost was about to fall on the individual. Their wills could not dictate to infinite sovereignty. Their power could not regulate the operations of Omnipotence. They could not give the Holy Ghost. The divine promise had secured the possession of these gifts to them and to the church. The means were resorted to in due form, and it was while in the humble and devout use of these means, that the Holy Ghost, in perfect sovereignty, "*came on them.*"* Man had no higher agency than this: and it was Simon Magus only who had conceived the execrable idea that the apostles had the supernatural gifts at their command, and could, at their pleasure, by the act of laying on their hands, confer the Holy Ghost.† Simon Magus, therefore, is the patron of this doctrine, *that men could baptize with the Holy Ghost.* It belongs not to us. It is no part of the code of truth. The curse of St. Peter has barred it from the sanctuary of the Lord!

This is the amount of the society's objections against baptism. The following apology for our holy baptism we submit to the candour of those of the society who have the courage to shake off the fetters of their law, which, with an inquisitorial spirit, interdicts the reading of all books not of their index.

The origin of this institution is not to be traced to the sprinklings in the Jewish church. It began under the ministry of John the baptist; and he belonged not to the dispensation of the Old Testament, but to that of the New.‡ He announced the high authority under which he acted. God "*sent me to baptize.*" *The word of God came unto John.*" He came preaching the baptism of repentance.§ This baptism, we have shown, was different from the "*baptism of the Holy Ghost.*" The latter did not take place

* Acts xix. 6. † See Acts viii. 17, 18, and xix. 6. ‡ Mark i. 1, 2. § John i. 33. Luke iii. 2, 3.

until Pentecost. But Christ and his disciples "*made and baptized more disciples than John;*" even in the lifetime of the baptist.* Can we venture to suppose the disciples did take on them to baptize without a commission from our Lord?† Is it conceivable that our Lord would permit it without a rebuke? Is it conceivable that he would permit his own servants to intrude on his house an institution that never received his sanction? No, never. They practised it under his eye. He "*made and baptized disciples*" by them. He gave, therefore, in most unequivocal terms, his sanction to this ordinance. He sealed it with the seal of heaven. Nothing but sheer prejudice of sectarism can repel the evidence of its divine origin thus spread over the first pages of the gospel.

When our Lord met his disciples, previous to his departure to glory, he extended their commission. "*Go ye into all the world; teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And, Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world.*" It is evident that he extends the commission to the pastors who should, in continuous succession, officiate in his house. It was only by a succession of pastors that "*all nations*" could be taught, and baptized.‡ To his immediate disciples, and to their successors in the pastoral office, therefore, he pledges his divine presence and support in their official duties. And these duties were "*the teaching and baptizing of all nations.*" These two, we have shown, cannot be the same thing. They are as distinct as was John's preaching from his "*water baptism.*" And the distinction is founded in common sense. It is obvious to the mind of all who are not fettered down by a system.

But the promise of support and presence by our Lord extends to his servants in their official operations among *all nations:* and "*to the end of the world.*" Hence the holy ordinance of baptism is secured to the church in perpetual duration. The Lord Jesus will support it through every generation, until the last trumpet shall announce his descent to the general judgment.

* John iii. 22, and iv. 1, 2.

† The leading Quakers have always asserted in positive terms that they did! Pike on Baptism, p. 23, Lond. 1703.

‡ Either their successors in the ministry must be included, or the apostles must have been supposed to live to "*the end of the world.*"

It is mere trifling on solemn matters to say—and yet Barclay, their measure and rule of orthodoxy, does say it—that there is no mention of "*water*" in that commission of our Lord to us.* When "John was sent to baptize" there was no "mention of water." But his practice was a plain comment on a very plain term. The point needs no laboured arguments—no profound dissertations. We appeal to the vocabulary and the lexicon for the meaning of the term. We have the literal meaning of it fixed by all Greece, to support us. If any other baptism had been intended by our Lord, the intentional departure from the common acceptation of the word would have been frankly and honestly stated. It would have been qualified by some terms. It would have been qualified by the words "*spirit*," and "*fire*." Besides, the baptism of Christ's disciples was the same as the baptism of John. And John baptized with water.† In short, to no other baptism can the words of the

* This is actually found in Prop. xii. sect. 8. p. 446.

† The denying of this would not materially affect my argument—yet I must say a few words in support of the identity of these baptisms. The baptism of John and the baptism of Christ were the same in their divine origin; and the same as it respects the element, and the mode of applying it. In both the parties baptized did profess their faith in Christ. Acts xix. 4. and also their repentance. Luke iii. 3. The baptism of John was the baptism of the gospel. It was in practice after "*the beginning of the gospel*." Mark i. 1. It testified of Christ *actually come*. The prophets prophesied, and the ceremonial law now in force *until John*. Matth. xi. 13. In him they were fulfilled. And in him, of course, the shadows ceased. Hence it is obvious that John's baptism was a new Testament rite. But the baptism of the New Testament "*is one*." Eph. iv. 5. Therefore the baptism of John and of Christ are the same. Some critics have conceived that they have discovered proofs of John's disciples having *again been baptized*. But there is no evidence of this in the New Testament. In Acts xix. v. 1, 6, the enquiry which St. Paul made of the disciples, was *not* whether they were *baptized*, but whether "*they had received the Holy Ghost*;" that is, in his miraculous gifts, since they believed. Water baptism was not the subject of their conference. And, upon hearing their answer that "*they had not so much as heard of the out-pouring of the Holy Ghost*, Paul laid his hands on them, and the Holy Ghost came upon them. The 5th verse is not a part of the narrative of St. Luke. It is the continuation of St. Paul's address. It contains a statement of John's doctrine; the nature of his baptism; and what his disciples did. "*When they*," the disciples of John, "*heard this*," i. e. John's doctrine respecting Christ, "*they were baptized*." i. e. by John "*in the name of Jesus Christ*." This is the opinion of the ablest critics and fathers of the reformation. Turretine on the identity of the two baptisms, vol. iii. p. 444. Bern. de Moore, vol. v. 396-402. vol. vi. 802. And on the last point see Tur. iii. p. 448. Beza, Marnixius, Cocceius, &c. I. Mark, Medul. and Comp. in B. D. Moore,

commission be referred. And, least of all, to the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Our Lord, and none but he, can baptize with the Holy Ghost. He could not permit—he could not enjoin his disciples to encroach on his own prerogative. He could not lay on them the burden of toiling in a physical impossibility!

This is our argument. And in addition to this, I shall add a specimen of proof, which might be pursued to a considerable length, from those texts which convey strong assurances of the perpetual obligations of baptism.

1. "*Except a man be born of the water and of the spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of God.*" To be "*born of the spirit*" is an expression that needs no explanation here. All refer it to the moral change of the heart under the irresistible energies of the spirit. "*To be born of the water*," was a phrase of such current use among the Jews, that its meaning was distinctly understood by every one. When a man renounced paganism he was received into the community of the church by baptism. This era was to him the commencement of a new life. He was said emphatically "*to be born.*" And as he was initiated into this life by baptism, he was said, by a most natural figure, to have been "*born of water*," when he was baptized.* Our Lord, therefore, declared, in language familiar to his audience, and very intelligible to us, that unless we be *baptized with water*, and *renovated by the Spirit*, we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. The first is the necessary means. The last is the essential qualification.

2. "*He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.*" According

vol. v. p. 401, &c. who gives Mark's *four arguments against the anabaptism of John's disciples.*

Dilemma, 1. If the baptism of John was not the baptism of the New Testament, then our Lord was not baptized—and hence he wanted *that* toward the New Testament church, which, by circumcision, he had toward the Old Testament church.

2. Hence the argument of St. Paul is enervated "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." Our Lord had not *one* of the bonds of union and communion said here to exist between each saint and himself.

3. Hence there can be no meaning in our Lord's words when he came to be baptized. If not of the New Testament, it could not be a part of his righteousness to be fulfilled.

* Selden De Tu. Nat. et Gent. p. 158, 159. Edit. 1668. Lightfoot, vol. i. p. 525 527. Wall's Hist. of Bap. vol. i. Introd. Lond. 1705. Bennet's Confut. Quak. p. 276.

to the plain and literal meaning of the term, the baptism here intended is the baptism of water. And, as our Lord establishes a positive and moral connexion between baptism and faith, the one shall endure as long as the other shall be found on the earth.

Again: To enforce the duty of cultivating union and peace in the church, the spirit of inspiration has placed the right of baptism by the side of faith; and thence produces a powerful motive from the fact that these are common to all true christians.—"*Keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one faith, one Lord, one baptism.*" Now, it has been shown that this baptism is not the baptism of the Holy Ghost. It is baptism by water—not excluding, as already explained, the inward grace thereby signified. The baptism of the Holy Ghost, in his miraculous powers, was not common to all. It was conferred on a small portion of the members of the church. It could not, with any propriety, be adduced as an argument in this matter. A particular premise cannot, without the grossest violation of the rules of sound argument, be made to produce a general conclusion. But, the baptism to which we allude, was common to every christian. Now, it is the unity of this common tie that is brought to enjoin a great and lasting moral duty. And it is placed by the side of faith, for this moral object. Since, therefore, this institution is ranked with faith, and is employed to enforce a moral duty of perpetual obligation, it is a fair inference that baptism, like faith, shall be of perpetual existence in the church.

Last—"*Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.*" "*By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body.*" The first truth established here, is, "*that Christ and believers are one body.*" The next is, that there is a double bond of union. The spirit, who was given to our Lord without measure, rests also on us. This is one common bond. The next is baptism, by which, as the means of divine wisdom, the Holy Spirit is conferred on us. This baptism, for the reasons already stated, could not be the baptism of the Holy Ghost. That was conferred on *very few.* This baptism is common to all the saints, and, hence our Lord was baptized with water; and as he came up out of the water

the Holy Spirit descended on him. *Whosoever, therefore, has not been baptized with water, is not baptized as our Lord was. He wants one of the bonds which constitute the grand union of the body mystical!*

The society entrench themselves behind the argument, that Christ was circumcised; and, if we must be baptized because he was baptized, we must, by a parity of reason, be circumcised. This is not an argument; it is not even an objection. It is a strong auxiliary to our argument. Our Lord was the head of his body, the Old Testament church, as well as of the New Testament church. Hence he was circumcised. For, at the time of his incarnation, it is evident, that "*circumcision was the seal of the righteousness of faith.*"* But, as the Lord of his church, he introduced the new dispensation, with all its peculiar rites. He abolished the ordinances of the old economy. Baptism has assumed the place and office of circumcision;† and the latter has disappeared for ever.

§ 3. The Lord's Supper. "Sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebramus."—*Cypr. Epist.* 63, *p.* 117, *folio*, 1593. —The besetting sin of the society has here shown itself in a fresh sally of extravagance, and without one redeeming quality.

One of their prophets, Naylor, while as yet the full blossom of his honours was fresh on him, and before the nipping frost had withered them and laid them low, came forward into the midst of his sect, and boldly, as did the apostle who rebuked the Corinthian church, pronounced an abolishing inspiration against the Lord's supper! "*What I have received of the Lord, that I declare unto you . . . . If you intend to sup with the Lord, or to shew the Lord's death until he come, let your eating and drinking, so often*

* Rom. iv. 11.

† Col. ii. 11 12.—Circumcision, according to St. Paul, was "*the seal of the righteousness of faith.*" Rom. iv. 11. "*The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, &c.*" Deut. xxx. 6. It actually, therefore, did represent, apply, and seal to the ancient worshipper that which baptism does represent, apply, and seal to us under the New Testament.

If there be no ordinance substituted to us and to our children, in the room of circumcision, we want an important means of grace which the Jew and his children had: and our children must be deemed to be unchurched—cut off from that membership in the church into which they were introduced by God in the Abrahamic covenant. Gen. xvii. 7, 10. And hence our privileges, under this *superior* dispensation, must be actually abridged!

as you do it, be in remembrance of him—that at death you may witness against excess. This is to have communion with his body and blood."*

What degree of credence the society vouchsafed to the divinity of this message, I shall not stop to enquire. It is too evident that they have obeyed that Python in this particular, rather than the apostle Paul, or even our Lord Jesus Christ.

That stretch of power which the primitive Friends exercised from a long line of mystic predecessors, and by which they struck from its place the holiest rite of christianity, was followed by another equal in boldness. That was the substitution of the mystic supper in the place of the Lord's supper. The following outline of this unearthly thing is from the tedious pages of the apologist. Christ has two bodies; the outward body, and the spiritual body: each of these is called Christ. The spiritual body was veiled under the figures of the Old Testament; it was also veiled, in some respects, under the body of Christ while on earth.† This spiritual body is clothed with light; and he has poured out into the hearts of all men a measure of that light by which he is clothed. This *light within* is that body and blood on which they feed;‡ and their act of feeding on it, is their act of "introversion." Their souls retire inward upon the light, and sweetly partake of the life there. And this is done as often as they meet in their assemblies;§ or oftener, if they choose "*to introvert*" upon the resources with which their souls are richly gifted!

This extravagance has put forth its desolating power over the whole sect; it has generated that furious zeal against the Lord's supper, which has no parallel in the annals of sectarian violence; it has made the zealot forget the common decencies which man owes to man; it has made him denounce our holy supper as useless, and even hurtful; it has made him curse it as the betrayer which bids man away from the *Christ within them to the Christ without:* from the *light within* to the Christ on the throne of glory in the heavens.‖

* See this specimen of bathos and impudence in Naylor's "*Love to the Lost*," p. 43, 44, 45, old edition, and Stalham, p. 192, No. 480, quarto. Phil. Library.

† Bar. Ap. Prop. 13 sect. 2, p. 463 and 464. ‡ Do. sect. 2, pp. 464, 465. § Do. p. 467. ‖ "*The Presbyterians and Independents*

1. The first error of the society, and that which has poured the virulent poison into all parts of the system, having been neutralized, and with it the defence set up in behalf of this mystic supper,* all that remains is "bald, unjointed talk;" wherein a masked hostility, yet wilful, and without a redeeming quality of candour, or of argument, puts forth its feeble and ill-combined powers against the holy supper of the Lord.

For instance: In the first place, this ordinance, they say, has, more than any other, excited violent and bloody contentions.† And therefore, good natured men! they would bury it in its bloody grave, with all the mischief created by it!—It never merited this from the tongue of slander; it is the ordinance of the God of peace; it is the feast of love and unity among brethren. If disputes have existed respecting it, was it the cause? Which of the holiest doctrines of divine revelation have not been rudely impugned? Had sectarians not polluted the threshold of the church, these disputes had never existed. Had the mystics not entered the lists, the feelings of the church had been spared the rudest violence ever offered to the holy sacraments!

2. They bring forward their feelings as the standard of orthodoxy. "*God withholds not his hidden manna from us*," say they, "*he daily owns us by his presence in the omission of this.*"‡ If there had been either propriety or orthodoxy in this language, it certainly had been adopted by the apostles at that most proper time for bringing it forward—I mean when they reclined beside their Lord, under the beams of his presence, during the first supper. But, though they had the benefit of his presence, they did not bring forward this objection; they did not adduce any real or fictitious privilege to suspend the force of a positive institution. They did not adduce feelings and sentimentalism to relax the obligation of a positive divine command. "*God owns us in our own way—in the omission of this supper!*" This is what the wild Arab of the desert says, while he frowns on the Nazarene;

feed on the report of a thing done many hundred years ago" Burroughs' Trumpet, p. 17. Penn vol. ii. p. 279. "*Their communion is the cup and table of devils.*" G. Fox's "News coming up out of the North," p. 14. Bugg's Pict. of Quak. p. 151.

* See the Part ii. ch. 1, on Immediate Revelations. † Bar. Ap. Prop. 13, sect. 4, p. 470. ‡ That is, the Lord's Supper. See "*Brief Apology for the Quakers.*" Dubl. edit. p. 62.

or with fitful devotion applies himself to his ablutions with sand, in the lack of water, according to the Koran. This is what the Catholic says, while, with "*lack lustre eye*," he counts his beads, or lacerates his body most piously with the sanctified scourge; or crawls heaven-ward on his naked knees, up the stairs of Saint Peter! "*God owns us in our own way, in the omission of this!*" And so exclaims the moody-brained deist, while he closes his phrenzied eye against the holy beams of truth, and plunges into the gloom and hopelessness of paganism! These, amid the wide diversity of system and character, do all agree marvellously in the conspiracy against heaven's will; and with inimitable self-complacency, they graduate their orthodoxy on the scale of their individual feelings!

3. Guided by the principles of the mystic interpretation, they bring forward expositions of plain texts capricious and even grotesque.

When the terms "*bread*" and "*wine*" and "*cup*," meet our eye in such passages of holy writ as these: "*The cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the blood of Christ: the bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*" we are to be on our guard against the natural import and common acceptation of the word; we are to take care lest we be deceived by too much plainness of diction; we are not to refer such terms to the *outward cup*, and the *outward bread*. No—they mean the *inward cup*—they mean the *inward bread*. It is the mystic supper to which they refer.*

When these terms are indeed taken in a figure, we shall find our authority distinctly in the context, or in the passage itself. We shall thence be able clearly to make it out that it were absurd to take them in the literal sense. Not to be guided by this rule is to become Don Quixotes in theology, or Origens outright!

The eccentricities of human nature have been developed more strikingly in religion, perhaps, than in politics, or in science, or even in knight errantry itself. In their displays on the field of religion, they have bid defiance to grave reason, to ridicule, to scorn. In a thousand new modifications they have exercised human patience and forbearance. "There is nothing the most

* Bar. Ap. Prop. 13, sect. 5, p. 475.

absurd which has not been uttered by some philosopher." There is nothing the most eccentric which some *soi-disant* theologician has not (Quixote like) maintained, even at the peril of life and limb. Even novices in theology have ceased to marvel. But this novel commentary on the mystic supper will move the most rigid muscles. Barclay, and those who have kept Barclay afloat, do make St. Paul,* by a singular process of mysticism, to pour out the "*internal light*" or the "*inward Christ*" into a cup; to bless it; to fix it down by hands more subtle than those of any chemical operator; to break it; and to distribute it to the people! Verily, may the veteran polemic exclaim, after casting his eyes over the wide field of ancient and modern heresies, the authors of this same mystic interpretation have distanced all the spirits that ever descended into the race of absurdities. Saccas and Origen, Jemima and Johanna, are thrown fairly into the rear, and are unhorsed.

"Cedite Romani *doctores*, cedite Graii."

4. The society has always considered it a leading error of the church, that "*she ties the participation of the body and blood of Christ to the ceremony of using bread and wine;*" and they insist "*that, as the ancient prophets did partake of the body and blood of Christ, without this ceremony, and as others may, in like manner, enjoy the thing signified, the ceremony ought to be dispensed with.*†

But if the holy supper be the institution of our Lord, and if he has constituted really a sacramental union between the sign and the thing thereby signified,‡ then, in all ordinary cases, we may not rationally expect the communion of the body and blood of the Lord without the instituted means. In extraordinary cases, we admit, God will bestow it on those who may not have access to the ordinary means. But He alone is judge of those cases. We cannot be supposed to derive any authority from these extraordinary dispensations, to set aside the ordinary means of salvation. The Almighty fed Israel with manna in the desert. May we venture to convert this into an argument for

* In the above recited verse from 1 Cor. x. 16.

† Bar. Apol. Prop. 13, p. 471, 473.

‡ See in the second division of this article at obs. 6, in defence of the holy supper.

indolence, and thereby paralyze the arm of industry? May we fold our hands with the sluggard, and raise our eyes to heaven for manna?

As it respects the members of the ancient Jewish church, let it be observed, that they very evidently had their solemn feast on their sacrifices, particularly on "*the Lamb of the passover;*" and, that this was not merely a custom commemorative of their escape from Egypt,* but that the same divine object of faith was, by this means, presented to them which is presented to us in the holy supper, we have the most positive assurance. Christ is "*the Lamb of God.*" And "*Christ our passover is sacrificed for us.*"† The only point of difference between the two lies in this. The fathers, devoutly participating of the paschal feast, looked forward, through the revolving ages, to the sacrifice about to be offered up by the Messiah. We, guided by the symbolical instructions of our sacrament, look back over the revolutions of ages, to him who was actually sacrificed for us on the top of Calvary.

5. In the apostolic age, when the ceremonial laws were gradually giving way before the rising glory of the Christian dispensation, our Lord granted certain indulgences to the weaknesses of the Jewish converts. He indulged them in the ancient rites of "*abstaining from meats,*" and of observing "*holy days.*" But the indulgence was not extended to their posterity, nor was it claimed by them. The law which established the new institutions clearly abolished the old. The apostles asserted their christian liberty, and warmly opposed them who wished to bring back on the church the rites, the abstinence from meats, the holy days of the Jewish church. The epistles of Paul abound with precepts and remonstrances on this subject. But who, that lays claims to accuracy on first principles, could confound the institutions of the new economy with the rites of the old? Who can permit themselves to act so absurdly as to rank among the ancient Jewish rites the holy supper which had not its existence in the times of the Old Testament? or, who can permit himself to quote against a christian ordinance the canons which abolished

* As Barclay has ventured to assert. Apol. p. 473.
† John i. 29. 1 Cor. v. 7.

the Jewish ceremonies? It was reserved for the writers of the society of Friends to be guilty of all this!*

6. They insist that the holy supper was a certain Jewish ceremony attending the passover; that Jesus complied with it; and that the primitive christians being chiefly Jews, did, for some time, observe it.† This is a gratuitous assertion of the apologist. No one passage can be brought from holy writ to support it. The law which ordained the passover makes no mention of any such appendage. The Old Testament is silent on the subject.

But the learned man is not to be put off. He does find authority. He plunges into the oblivion of unfortunate authors, and drags up a certain *Paulus Riccius*. His black letter proofs he thinks to be decisive on the matter. He enlightens the world by the discovery that this *surely* was a Jewish ceremony. But whence has this oracle, this *Paulus Riccius* derived his illumination? From no other source, verily, than the writers of the Jewish Talmud; and these, as all the world knows, wrote after the destruction of their city and nation. If the apocryphal authors, with all the advantages which may be supposed to have arisen from their national privileges and valuable materials, are so insipid, and brainless, and fabulous, what can we expect from those men who wrote long after the destruction of their temple, and who were not even permitted to grub out documents and materials from the ruins of their capital.‡ And, moreover, they wrote avowedly to the prejudice of christianity. They abound with palpable errors, and with puerile fables.§ Their authority is of no weight in history. Their judgment is of no importance on any article that relates to the name and institutions of Jesus Christ.

Yet, after all, if any Friend, learned in the Hebrew and the Talmud, shall be conscientiously scrupulous for the authority of

* Hence the irrelevancy of Barclay's objections against the sacrament, taken from Rom. xiv. 17. Colos. ii. 16. Apol. Prop. 13, sect. 5, 9.

† Bar. Apol. Prop. 13, sect. 6, p. 480.

‡ See Mosh. Chron. Tables Cent. iii. Buck's Theol. Dict. Art. Talmud, who quotes the unanimous testimony of the Jews, "*that the Mishna or text of the Talmud was written at the close of the second century.*" Prideaux places it in the beginning of the sixth century. Connect. vol. iii. 447.

§ The plain reader may see a fair specimen in Buck's Theol. Dict. at the article Talmud.

these same Talmuds, we can afford to give up all this—and we have no great zeal on the matter. We may, in fact, admit all that Barclay and his Paulus Riccius have asserted, that there was a supper of bread and wine attached to the passover. This is wholly irrelevant in their argument, and it touches not our argument. "What we are to look to, is Christ's practice; and we are sure that that should oblige us more than the Jewish practice should oblige Christ."*

Lastly. "The washing of the disciples' feet has been as positively enjoined by Christ as the supper; and yet that has been set aside: why then is the supper retained?"†

In the eastern world custom had established the practice of using no other covering for the feet than sandals: the climate was extremely warm. At the close of the day it was the office of the host to afford his guests the means of "*washing their feet.*" It was in all private families deemed an act of kindness to bathe the feet of the traveller; it had certainly been the practice of all ranks from time immemorial to do so. And the service "of washing the feet" belonged *alone to the domestics of the family.*"‡ Our Lord, after the first supper, in order to give his disciples a lesson of humility, and to impress on their minds the remembrance of that law which constituted a perfect equality among all the members of the ministerial office, actually condescended to do what the menial servants of the family would otherwise certainly have done. He did not originate the custom "*of washing the feet;*" he introduced no new rite; he employed no mystic signs; he simply placed himself in the servant's stead—and acting as a menial servant, he taught them a most impressive lesson of humility, and of brotherly love and sympathy. He has left us no precept that these should be expressed positively by "*the washing of each other's feet;*" and there is no injunction "*to wash each other's feet,*" until he "*come again.*" To relieve and comfort the brethren, is a duty of perpetual obligation; as to the manner of doing this most effectually, it is left to all christians to do it according to their national forms and customs; and these forms and customs are left untouched by the Spirit of revelation, as are

* Brown of Wamphry against Barclay. † Bar. Apol. Prop. 13, sect. 6, p. 481. ‡ Harmer's Observations, &c. and Paxton's Illustrations vol. ii. p. 342, 343, Phil. edit. Burder's Oriental Customs, No. 611, 612.

the languages and forms of government of respective nations. The laws of Divine Providence here bear sway. The kingdom of grace has not put forth a single injunction on the matter.

But the severity of the apologist has exposed his sect to retaliation. If this ancient practice of "*washing the feet*" be sufficient in their estimation to establish among the moderns of the West the Oriental custom "*of washing the feet*," pray, why has not the zeal of the society, like that of their Pennsylvanian neighbours, the Dunkers, introduced it into the number of their forms? If they can see, so clearly, its positive institution, will our negligence, in this particular, atone for their criminality in rejecting both the holy supper and the washing the disciples' feet?

We have, however, a more serious objection than what grows out of their inconsistency. Had our Lord ordained "*the washing of feet*," as a religious ordinance, we should have had two sacramental washings with water. And, each of them, as must be evident to every Friend, signifying the same thing,* one of them must be superfluous: and evidently that one which has not, as baptism has, a precept enforcing a perpetual observance.

Such is the whole plan of attack on this most holy institution: an attack planned in the maudlin brains of Fox; matured by Penn; and executed by Barclay.

> "Sic fatus senior, telumque imbelle, sine ictu
> "Conjecit." VIRG.

The whole *materiel* of the force brought forward is evidently borrowed.† But the principles and suggestions of Grotius are

* Bernard De Moor, vol. v. p. 328.

† I am sorry to say from Grotius—whose unguarded principles have invited the sectarian to an impious daring in this matter, which none would have lamented more sincerely than the learned man. Grotius, while residing at the court of France, as Swedish ambassador, wrote his book, "*De coena administranda ubi non pastores sunt; an semper communicanda per symbola.*"

The learned man's errors in doctrine had drawn down on him a sentence of expulsion from the reformed church. The Lutheran church had, for the same reason, shut her doors against him. The remonstrants had, at that time, no pastors, and no communion. In this untoward combination of circumstances, which created no ordinary temptation to model his creed according to his present feelings, he offered his plea that the pastor was not essentially necessary to the right celebration of the Lord's supper. And that it was not necessary that the external symbols

set forth in all the threatening array of syllogisms, pursued through all the figures and moods and categories of Aristotle—and in a style of bold execution which might add a sprig of laurel to the immortality of the Stagirite. Nor is this all. He has contrived to render his dogmata, in a manner, inaccessible, by throwing around them the ponderous circumlocutions of the leaden age of Fox, and by shedding over them the narcotic influence of mysticism, which no assailant can approach without feeling their soporiferous influence creeping over all his senses!

II. We now invite the society's politeness to the apology of the church in behalf of her solemn festival.

1. The first holy supper was an institution distinct from the passover.

In the passover, the flesh of the paschal lamb, and unleavened bread were used—wine also was added.* Some of the learned† have been of opinion that in this ceremony there was a double supper: that in the first the paschal lamb was eaten, and in the second the unleavened bread: and the last was by our Lord converted into the holy supper. Others admit the double supper of the paschal lamb and of the unleavened bread; but contend that our holy institution was added by our Lord as the third and distinct supper.‡ But our divines have shown from the authentic records of the Jews "that the paschal lamb was the last thing eaten in the passover; and that the whole rite was closed by the paschal cup passing round the company."§ There was, therefore, no room for the second supper.

should be used. In other words the learned man reasoned that *symbolical instruction* might be effected without the use of *symbols*. His ingenious triflings have been revived by Penn and Barclay. See Voet. Polit. Eccles. vol. i. p. 764. Cloppenburgh has refuted Grotius in his Disp. Sel. Theol. 4. Oper. Tom. i. p. 592, 598. See Bernard De Moor, vol. v. p. 665. Grotius wrote in Latin, A. D. 1638. Barclay published his Apology in Latin, A. D. 1676, some time after his return from the Scotch college of Paris.

* See Luke xxii. 18, and Talmud Tract. De Sab. fol. 11, quoted by Witsius Oecon. Fed. vol. ii. ch. 17, p. 448.

† Scaliger De Emend. Temp. Lib. vii. 571, and Bern. De Moor. Perpet. Com. vol. v. p. 321. ‡ Maldonatus and Grotius De Cœna Dom.

§ Calvin De Cœn. Dom. Buxtorf. Ad Histor. Instit. S. Cœnæ Dom. sect. 14. Leusd. Phil. Hebræo-mixt. Dissert. 38, Quæst. 6. Goodwin's Moses and Aaron, book iii. ch. 4, sect. 21, 22. Bern. De Moor Perp. com. vol. v. p. 321, 322.

And it is made evident to a demonstration from the sacred narrative* that this was the order observed in the first holy supper. After they had eaten the passover, and after the paschal cup "*had been taken and divided among them*," our Lord "*took bread*," *and* "*he took the cup*," and instituted another supper: it was, therefore, most evidently no part of the passover; but it was as evidently something substituted in its place. "*Do this*," said our Lord, "*do this in remembrance of me*."

2. This supper is something entirely distinct from the agapè or love feasts. It is not quite evident that these feasts, though observed by the primitive christians, were of divine appointment. The first mention of them we find in that early period of christianity when the disciples had all things in common.† The wants of the poor were relieved by the bounties of the rich; tables were spread for them in the places of public worship, that their devotion might be accompanied by active charity. These feasts originally preceded the eating of the Lord's supper.‡

In a following age when the abuses that had crept into the agapè, became flagrant in the church, the council that met at Carthage decreed that these feasts should be kept after the Lord's supper.§

But as these abuses could not be prevented while the occasions of temptation existed, the love feasts were formally abolished by a canon of the council of Laodicea.‖ On the whole, the following two points are established respecting the love feasts. 1. It

* Of Luke xxii. 18, &c. † Acts ii. 44, 45, ch. iv. 32, 34. Spanhem. Sac. et. Eccles. Hist. p. 620, folio.

‡ 1 Cor. xi. 20, 22. The Corinthians had committed a double abuse in their agapè. The rich did indeed bring with them the *materiel* of the feast; but instead of yielding to the tender sympathies of charity, and spreading a table for their poor brethren, previous to their associating at the table of their Lord, they appropriated the whole to their own gratification; and while their brethren "*were hungry*," *they* "*were drunken*." The apostle applies to them the severe and just discipline of God's house, charging them not only with this shocking abuse, but with profaning the table of the Lord, and thereby "*eating and drinking damnation to themselves*." He thus makes it evident that the church united these two, and that the love feast preceded the holy supper.

§ "*Sacramenta altaris nonnisi a jejunis hominibus celebrarentur*." Canon 4 of the council of Carthage, held in the reign of Aurelian, towards the close of the third century, before A. D. 275. See Turret. vol. iii. p. 476.

‖ "*Non oportet in—Ecclesia facere agapas, et in domo Dei manducare*." Canon 28, as quoted by Turret. vol. iii. p. 476.

is not evident that they were ordained by our Lord. 2. And when kept they were always followed or preceded by the Lord's supper.*

3. The holy supper was instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ. The passover having been eaten, and the cup having been distributed among the disciples,† this Jewish ordinance was finished, and it was not to be resumed; it had accomplished its end; it was but the type. It had for ages set before the church the prophecy of the coming Messiah; it had been annually reiterating the consoling promise: "*Behold the lamb of God is coming.*" He was come whom it had been so long announcing; the glory of the antitype filled the church; the type was lost in the glorious vision—and to-morrow's sun was to reveal to the Jewish nation their Messiah suspended on the cross; and as the passover could only speak of him as coming, it could no longer utter its voice without misleading the church.

But the new dispensation was not to be inferior in any respect to the old. Now the old had never been without an institution of wisdom to direct the church to her coming Lord. The goodness of God could not permit her to remain without an institution as well calculated, at least, to commemorate the advent and death of her Lord. Hence the Lord of the passover having withdrawn it, ordained another in its stead. "*Our Lord took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, saying, take, eat; this is my body given for you—this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you—drink ye all of it.*"‡ And the solemn service was closed with singing a hymn. Thus by the highest authority this holy institution was delivered to the church; thus by precept and by example its religious observance is enjoined upon us. The primitive christians did faithfully obey the injunction of their Lord. "*They continued stedfastly in the apostle's doctrine, and in fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer.*"§ From the manner in which the "*breaking of bread*" is introduced,

* Consult Bern. De Moor Perpet. com. vol. v. p. 558. Turret. vol. iii. p. 471, 472, 475. Voet. Eccles. Polit. vol. i. p. 478, 479. Bingham Orig. Eccles. vol. vi. 504, &c. &c. Wolfius in Cur. Phil. and Criæ. ad Judæ ver. 12. See also Schleusneri Lexic. Nov. Test. article *Agapai.*

† Luke xxii. 17. ‡ Luke xxii. 19, 20. § Acts ii. 42, &c.

and from the religious nature of the things with which it is designedly associated, it is very plain that it cannot, without violence, be referred to common meals. Can it be gravely asserted that an inspired writer would stop to tell us that the christians "*continued stedfastly to break bread in common meals?*" Does not all the world know that all men do break bread, from house to house, in common meals? That wise men and fools—that the pagan and the christian never cease to do it? We could not defend the page of inspiration from the charge of drivelling, did we fix this as the meaning of "*breaking bread.*"

The Spirit of God is here speaking of the acts of the church. He associates, from design, this act with "*doctrines and fellowship.*" It was a feast, then, of the church. It was a feast preceded and followed by preaching.* But they were love feasts? No. It cannot be made to appear that love-feasts were ordained by our Lord. They could not, therefore, be interwoven in the narrative of inspiration. They could not be placed by the side of the apostles' "*doctrine, and fellowship, and prayer.*" And did we even admit that they were love-feasts, our argument would lose nothing. It is evident, from authentic documents, that the holy supper was always united with these love-feasts. The very design of them was to assemble the church for the holy supper. The last was the principal end; the first was only accessary.

About twenty-six years after this institution had been in full operation in the church, our Lord gave an additional expression of his will on the matter. This has settled the point respecting its authority and perpetual obligation. I allude to what was delivered to the Corinthians.

The apostle, having corrected the abuses in their love-feasts, and, having reminded them that their coming together for such purposes as those to which they had debased their love-feasts, was not to eat the Lord's supper, proceeds in all the solemnity of his high commission, not to put down the festival of the supper, which he certainly would have done, had it been a human institution†—not to abolish it, which he certainly would have done had it been a part of the abrogated ceremonies, or a

* Acts xx. 7. † As the council of Laodicea abolished the love feasts.

temporary institution. But he proceeds, in the words of the Holy Ghost, to repeat its divinity; its sacred uses; its perpetual obligation. "*I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you; that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread. And when he had given thanks, he brake it; and said, take, eat; this is my body broken for you. This do in remembrance of me. He also took the cup, after he had supped, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood. This do, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew or,* καταγγελλετε *shew ye forth the Lord's death till he come.*"

This divine message has filled up the measure of our desires. Nothing can come after it. It is full; it is explicit. It leaves no room for doubt or evasion. It places this sacred institution on an imperishable basis. It throws around it such a blaze of glory, that we cannot approach it without awe and veneration!

The society have at no time yielded to these feelings. With them it has no authority, no use, no glory! They contrive to represent the whole of this sacred passage as having no more the force of a divine injunction to observe this sacred festival, than the words, "*as often as you go to Rome visit the capitol,*" can be supposed to lay a man under an obligation to visit Rome.*

This form of argument, which the apologist has put into the lips of every Quaker, exhibits a mortifying specimen of the effect produced by certain superficial remarks, and a play upon words, boldly ventured on illiterate minds. Not "fat, contented ignorance" herself, dozing in her cell, or shrinking from the misery of being doomed to think and reflect for herself, can be more easily satisfied; and yield herself a more ready slave to vulgar error than these simple minds to their *authorized thinkers!*

Were it not that the Baronet of Ury has been allowed to think for the amiable sect from generation to generation, we might remind them that this old and feeble objection, talked into popularity, within the limits of the meeting, by a few dull prosers, does really imply that the person addressed by it, has been in the habit of going to Rome. "*As often as you go to Rome, see the capitol.*" If he has not been in the habit of going

* Bar. Ap. Prop. 13, p. 492.

thither, it has no bearing on the point. It has absolutely no meaning. But taking it for granted that, as usual, he is about to visit Rome, it assumes the air of a definite request. And coming from one to whom he owes all obedience, it becomes a positive command, that he do visit the capitol. Taking it in its most natural construction, it operates wholly against the sentiments of the society, and in our favour.

Nay, I entreat the patience of the society a moment. I insist that their own explanations, instead of proving the ordinance of the supper to have been abolished, do actually prove more against them than even we want to establish. The precept says unequivocally to the church, "*As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, show ye forth the Lord's death till he come.*" That is, they say, *as often as ye use bread and wine, ye must do this in my memory.*

In the parallel alleged by them, there is a matter of indifference: "*As often as ye go to Rome, see the capitol.*" But there is no such indifference here. "*Do this in remembrance of me—as often as ye eat bread and drink of this cup.*" The "*going to Rome*" is a mere contingency. You may go thither. You may not go. But the using of these viands is not a matter of contingency. It does occur every day, and every where. On the principles of the apologist it would prove that we ought to celebrate the Lord's supper *at every meal.* Their own explanations unlock an overflowing of argument against them. They pour forth gratuitously a redundancy of proof in our favour. But we wish not to be carried along by this excess of misguided zeal. We do not wish to be so lavish of proof. It is to guard us against the abuse of making the holy supper a common meal, that this very explanation is introduced into the precept—"*as often as* ye eat *this* bread and drink *this* wine." He makes an emphatic distinction between the symbols of the old sacrament, and the symbols of the new. You have hitherto used the paschal lamb; it is my will that you henceforth use *bread and wine.* I have consecrated *them* to my service, to represent my broken body and my shed blood; and as often as ye do use *this bread and this wine*—"*do it*—not as a common meal—"*do it in remembrance of me.*"

Our apostle has delivered two additional precepts in this place. The first regulates the necessary preparation of the christian; the second, in terms the most definite, enjoins on every christian the duty of celebrating the Lord's supper. "*Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup.*" To strip the assailant of the last fragment of his shivered weapon, and to expose him in all the nakedness of impotent folly—what more could be done, which this voice of the Almighty has not done?

4. Of all the institutions of our Lord, this rises highest in solemnity and importance. The holy scriptures present to us those doctrines to which heaven awards the honour of "*making men wise unto salvation.*" The ministry expound them to our minds, and enforce them on our consciences. To baptism is awarded the instrumentality of giving an extraordinary exhibition of the purifying blood of Christ. But in this holy festival our Lord comes down in the sight of the church in his lovely and awful majesty, and invites us to a blessed communion with him.

Now, that ordinance is most solemn in which there is the fullest and most striking representation of the love of our suffering and dying Lord; in which extraordinary communications are made from the throne of grace, for the celebrations of which no ordinary preparations are required; in the abuse of which a guilt of no ordinary stain is contracted—and for the violating of the sanctity of which a fearful retribution follows.* And such, in every particular, is the Lord's supper. The circumstance of solemn pomp and mystery thrown around it, strikes the mind of even the thoughtless; how much more the mind of the humble and devout christian! At all times we should approach the Lord with profound reverence; but in this institution, like Moses and Joshua, "*We put off our shoes from off our feet, for the ground on which we stand is holy.*"

5. There are more avenues into the human mind than one. We have, assuredly, no right to say that God does, or that God will convey his mind to us only by the eye, or by the ear; by any other of the senses, or by all of them at once; it must be allowed, he at least can convey his will to us. And if he is pleased

* 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29.

so to do, it must be admitted that the impression made on our minds will be deep and lasting in proportion to the number of the senses that may have been employed in his service.

Now this can be done only by material forms, constituted symbols by the proper authority. These symbols set up before our senses, and brought into contact with them, will, in consequence of this constitution, convey to the mind moral instruction not only correct, but peculiarly forcible. Thus, in regard to the subject before us, the proofs and expressions of our Saviour's love, are, in a manner, made tangible; and they are poured in upon our minds through the different avenues of the senses: and reciprocating his divine love, our minds pour forth before him a flood of emotions and love, and vows and devotion. Every person acquainted with human nature and the philosophy of the mind, must surely feel the wisdom and high importance of this mode of communication; and when to this is added the consideration, that in religion the communion is to be kept up between Him who is a pure Spirit, and creatures whose spirits dwell in material frames, and receive their impressions through the senses, may we not say that it is, in a manner, absolutely necessary in religion. Let it not be objected to this, that the Holy Spirit produces effects on the mind by the immediate presence of his plastic power; it is neither orthodox nor safe to question this truth—most certainly he does. But let us remember that his mysterious operations are attended, at the same moment, by his effectual employment of the outward means of grace. It is so in the kingdom of nature: the secret emanation of his power makes the oak burst from the acorn; but not without the kindly influence of the dew and of the sun, is the work perfected.

Our Lord has justified his wisdom and goodness in causing this extraordinary exhibition of his body and blood to be given under material symbols. The kind and the number of these have been determined by his own authority. "*He took bread and wine.*" These are brought into the assembly of the church, and are placed on the table of the Lord; after solemn invocation the one is broken, the other is poured out; they are put into the hands of the saints—they take them, and use them in a sacramental manner. For the rest, as it respects all minor circumstances attending it,

we are guided by that general canon, "*Let all things be done decently and in order.*"

6. There is a sacramental union established between the symbols and the things designed to be expressed by them.

This union, in the judgment of the church, does not consist in the conversion of the symbols into that which they are appointed to represent; nor is it a union arising out of the nature of the things. It is a union which God has been pleased to constitute through grace, between the pious use of the symbols and the exhibition of the thing signified by them. The union is relative; it resembles the connexion existing between the cause and the effect—between means and the end. It is a real union, because it has for its basis the divine institution thereof, and this does create the union. And the devout communicant does, in the pious use of the symbols, actually partake of the blessed realities exhibited in them.

One explanation more is necessary. Our Lord ordinarily works by means; but he is not confined to them; he can accomplish his will above them and beyond them. In this sacramental union it is distinctly understood by us, that two things are so connected that the one cannot *ordinarily* be possessed without the other. In an *extraordinary* way it may be enjoyed. This remark applies equally to the preaching of the gospel, and to the holy sacraments. Thus the blessings of the divine presence are necessarily connected in *an ordinary manner*, with the assembling of ourselves in the house of God for worship; but surely it is not confined to that. Barclay has admitted this.* We extend it for the same reasons to the Lord's supper; but the circumstance of our Lord working in sovereignty above and beyond all means, can no more authorize us to lay aside the ordinary means of grace, such as the preaching of the gospel, and the observance of the sacraments, than the fact of God's feeding the Jews with manna, can excuse the folly of the man, who, expatiating on the pleasures of freedom from bodily toils, and declining to cultivate his fields, lauds the Divine beneficence and raises his eyes very devoutly to heaven for manna!

Barclay, and with him the whole society, have rejected this

* Apol. Prop. 13, p. 472.

sacramental union. "The communion of the body and blood of Christ"* say they, "has no relation, nor respect, to the ceremony of bread and wine." Why are the Friends so inconsistent? Why do they not also deny the connexion between "the assembling of themselves and the feeling of the divine presence?" Why do they not deny the connexion between their preaching and the "convincement" of sinners? They strenuously contend for all these. They glow with zeal in advocating these connexions. By what arguments do they support them? Not from the nature of the things. In the nature of things no such connexion does exist. It is only by a divine institution God has enjoined us to meet. He has ordained the preaching of the gospel. He has pledged his presence in the assemblies of the saints.† And it is from the influences of his presence that these means derive all their efficacy. "*Paul may plant—God only gives the increase.*" The supper was ordained by the same authority. The same blessed influence here unites the means and the end.

This union may be distinctly marked in the following things. *First:* In the fitness of the symbols to represent what is intended. These are the substantial parts of that food by which human life is sustained and comforted. And they passed through a necessary process before they were fit for this. Our Lord gave his body to be bruised and broken for us. And his blood was shed on the cross. By these sufferings—by this agonizing death he consummated his atonement. Through this process of suffering and dying, "*his flesh*" became "*meat indeed: and his blood*" became "*drink indeed*,"‡ to nourish those who "*receive*" the benefit of "*his atonement.*"

Second: There is not only a natural, but a moral fitness. Divine authority has created a mysterious and real union between the symbols and the thing signified by them, so that they are made to represent to the faith of the saints, "*the body and the blood of the Lord.*" The following words of inspiration do certainly convey this idea. If they do not, they are utterly inex-

* What they mean by the "blood, &c. of Christ," is shown in this section on the mystic supper. See the beginning of this article.

† Matthew xxviii. 20. ‡ John vi. 56.

plicable. "*This bread is my body broken for you. This cup is the new testament in my blood.*" "*The cup, is the communion of the blood of Christ. The bread, is the communion of the body of Christ.*"* "*He 'is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord,' who eats this bread and drinks this cup unworthily.*" And his guilt arises out of his "*not discerning*," in these elements, "*the Lord's body.*" Now, I put it to the candour of every Friend to say—if there be no union created between the external symbols, and the thing divinely set forth—if there be no union so constituted, that we can, in the representation, certainly "*discern the Lord's body*," how can the sin of "*not discerning it*" be charged on any man by the Judge of all the earth.

Third: The holy supper is not only a sign but a seal of the covenant of grace. It does not only represent, in an affecting manner, the reality of our Saviour's death and atonement, it also confirms, to us, the blessings of his grace. It bears to the new covenant the same relation which the rainbow bears to the covenant of Noah. The rainbow certainly does not serve merely to commemorate the fact of the deluge. It is a seal appended to that covenant, which God made with our father Noah, to confirm our faith in the divine assurance that the earth shall not be destroyed by another deluge.

The following is a specimen of the proof from holy writ, that the supper is, in this sense, a seal of the new covenant. "*Take, eat: this is my body broken for you.*" Here is the comment of Calvin on this text; and, as the apologist *claims this very eminent father as at one with them in their view of the supper*,† it ought, in all conscience, to have with them its full weight. "*Our Lord by stretching out to us his visible symbols, gives along with them to us his own body. Nor is Christ false. He does not amuse us with empty figures. Hence there is no doubt that truth is united to his sign. That is, as it respects spiritual power, we are as really made partakers of the body of Christ, as we feed on bread.*"‡

Nor is the following less forcible: "*This cup is the new testament in my blood.*" Every covenant was ratified by blood. The blood of the victim streaming before the eyes of the parties,

* 1 Cor. x. 16. † Bar. Apol. p. 498. ‡ "*Quia Dominus*," &c. Calv. in 1 Cor. xi. 24. Bern. De Moor, vol. v. 236.

confirmed the truth to their entire satisfaction, that the conditions of the covenant were fulfilled. Christ had assumed the mediatorship of the new covenant. In fulfilling its conditions he offered himself a sacrifice for us. Here are the proofs and pledges of it deposited with the church. "*This cup is the new testament in my blood. This bread is my body broken for you.*" These symbols represent his body broken and his blood shed for us. This was all that was required in that covenant. The condition has, therefore, been fulfilled. Hence the certainty of the blessings secured to us. The basis on which this certain assurance rests, is our Lord's own declaration. And by this ordinance his declaration is presented by proofs which forcibly strike the mind. We feel these proofs. We see them. We taste them. We cannot but believe the evidence of our senses. We must believe his truth, certified by his veracity, conveying upon our minds, proofs through the testimony of our senses.

Again: The Lord's supper is a feast upon a sacrifice. This is the result to which an argument of Paul has carried him.* The substance of it is this. In dissuading from idolatry, he laid down these positions. 1. That in eating of the body and blood of Christ, offered up to God, on the cross, we have a real communion in his sufferings and death. "*The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ. The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*"

2. That the Jews who eat of the meat of the sacrifice, did partake as really of the moral benefits of the sacrifice as those for whom it was offered up. "*Are not they who eat of the sacrifice partakers of the altar?*" This being laid down as the true meaning of the use of sacrifices, he argues in a divine manner, that if those, to whom he is addressing himself, did partake of the Gentile feasts on their sacrifices, even although they had not been present at the altar, or had assisted in the public ceremonies, yet they were thereby actually guilty of idolatry. "*The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils. Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.*"

Thus the apostle, guided by inspiration, makes it evident that there is a perfect analogy existing between these different

* In 1 Cor. x. 16, 18, 20, 21.

feasts. If there were not, his argument loses its consistency and divinity. The Lord's supper, therefore, bears that relation to the great Christian sacrifice, which the feasts of the Jews and the Gentiles, after their sacrifices, did bear to their sacrifices. But these feasts were feasts on their sacrifices. And all who, at the table, partook of them, were interested in the moral benefits arising from the blood of the victim as much as those who assisted at the altar or who offered up the victim. Hence, by the apostle's argument from these premises, the Lord's supper is a feast on the great Christian sacrifice offered up on Calvary. And in feeding on this sacrifice by faith—and we actually do it, when we devoutly take the sacred symbols into our hands, and use them sacramentally—we are considered in law, and in justice, as the persons for whom the atoning blood of the christian sacrifice was shed.

Now, the feasting on a sacrifice was a solemn federal rite in the Jewish church. This is easily explained. The altar was the table of God. The sacrifice offered up on it was "*his meat.*"* Hence when the church sat down to eat of the sacrifice, "*the fruit of the altar,*" they became the guests of the Lord. They did eat and drink with him. And this communion did certainly imply that love and peace existed between the parties. This idea was universally understood. It was thus that covenants of peace were ratified, and carried into effect. The parties erected their altar, and eat thereon.† And in the feast at the altar the devout Jew appeared as the one party "*in the covenant of his God*"‡ He received the confirmations of the divine love: And he pledged his vows of fidelity to his God.

But according to our apostle in his argument referred to above, there is a perfect analogy between the feast of the Jewish church and the Lord's supper. Hence while we feast on the christian sacrifice we are made his guests. "*He sups with us and we sup with him.*" We devote ourselves to him by solemn vows; he confirms his covenant of peace with us.§

And there is, in this institution, the highest moral tendency to

* Mal. i. 7, 12. † Gen. xxxi. 44. ‡ Lev. ii. 13.

§ Consult Cudworth's Treatise on the Lord's supper in the end of the second volume of his Intellectual System, p. 26, 34, Mihi, quarto.

promote this:—The visible symbols in reference to the Lord's supper, are to us what the rainbow of Noah's covenant is to all men; what the wetting of the fleece was to Jephthah; and what the live coal laid on Isaiah's lips, was to him. These did seal and ratify what was announced.

Hence the christian with the sacred symbols in his hands, is taught thus divinely to reason. As certainly as my God has set apart these elements as the instruments of a symbolical representation of the death of my Redeemer; as certainly as they have been put gratuitously into my hands for this purpose; so certainly has he in his body, by his passion on the cross, made a thorough atonement; so certainly is he freely given to me; so certainly shall I have on my due acceptance of him, rich grace for every want in this transitory state; and in yonder bright world whither he beckons me, a crown of immortal glory. Can I doubt the veracity of my Lord? Can I hesitate to give the fullest credence to his promises? I may sooner doubt these evidences of my senses—these evidences of my seeing, and feeling, and tasting of these materials, which are by his authority put into my hands, and made by him the symbols of his atonement.

Thus, therefore, the Lord's supper is a seal of the covenant of grace. And thus, it is evident, that there is a sacramental union between the visible symbols and the grace that is thereby signified.

From the premises the following inferences are clearly made out. *First:* That there is no foundation in scripture or in the nature of the things for the fanciful distinction of Barclay, *that the death of Christ was shown forth by bread and wine until that event actually took place; but that the communion of his body and blood is had only through the internal light, and without an external ceremony.** *Second:* That the holy supper is a most necessary means of our christian comfort and salvation. The church is at issue on this matter with all her opposers, and she distinctly pronounces her judgment. There is not, in all cases of the dereliction of reason, a mark of folly and insanity, more deeply branded on human conduct, than that of him who frowns from him the sacred bread and the sacred cup; and who in the midst of smiling plenty offered

* Bar. Apol. Prop. 13, p. 477.

to him by the angel of mercy, destroys his soul by a slow lingering death. And Oh! but the fitful peals of laughter poured through the open jaws of the maniac are not half so dreary on the ear of melancholy; and the low protracted convulsive scream of the expiring criminal, is not half so horrible to the ear of recoiling humanity, as is his boisterous mirth on the ears of all good men, while he labours it through the murderous process of self-destruction! *Third:* That the sacrilegious hand which offers violence to this holy institution is stained by crime of the deepest aggravation. It has ever been deemed an atrocious offence to offer insult and violence to the person with whom a covenant of amity had been confirmed by eating and drinking. The conscience of even a heathen has set this mark of infamy on it. Even Celsus has gone so far as to bring a charge of inconsistency against the sacred narrative which has detailed the treachery of Judas—because it records what human nature, as he thought, was not capable of perpetrating—that is, treachery after having sealed the covenant of amity by eating and drinking.*

Public opinion is the same now, respecting solemn covenants ratified by an oath. Oh! who can conceive the sweeping stroke of that Justice whose stern eye singles out, for vengeance, the wretch who breaks the covenant of his God; and who "*is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord!*" *And, Oh! tell me if the sacrilegious abstraction* of the cup from this sacred institution, by the priests of Rome, have rendered it doubtful, at least, whether this sacrament be solemnized, or even recognized in that church:†—if the act of unworthy communicating does involve guilt of such a distressing nature‡—what must be the guilt of that offender, who, without the plea which ignorance and weakness are allowed to plead in extenuation of his crime, who without even the plea of the prodigal, whose passions have carried him forward into hostilities against the truth, who through an unsanctified zeal, lashed into fury by enthusiasm, pours contempt on this standing memorial of Christ's love, this standing proof

* "Οτι ανθρωπῳ ὁ κοινωνησας τραπεζης ουκ αν αυτῳ, πολλῳ πλειον ὁ Θεῳ συνευωχηθεις ουκ αν αυτῳ επιβουλος εγινετο."—Cels. in Origen.

† See Dr. Adam Clark on The Eucharist, p. 55, who "*defies all the priests of Rome to prove that this sacrament is ever dispensed in their society.*" They withhold the cup from the laity. ‡ 1 Cor. xi. 29.

of his divine mission and purity of character,* and in face of that authority which gave it birth, wages war against it "as an idle Jewish ceremony;" and with sacrilegious hands tears it from its lofty place, which God has assigned to it in his sanctuary, and trains up his children and his domestics, with a fatal fidelity to do the same; and leaves to his posterity the legacy of the spirit of persecution! "*Oh! my soul, come not thou into his secret; into his assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!*"

7 and last. These two sacraments are of perpetual obligation. We hold up the proofs of their divine appointment; and we insist that our Lord's authority alone can abolish what his decree has ordained. Either you are guilty of a daring outrage on his prerogative, or his prerogative has been exercised in abolishing these institutions. If you acted, in this measure, under his auspices, the decree that abolished them is on record. Where, we demand, are the proofs of your commission from the court of heaven? Where is the abolishing decree registered? We challenge the sectary to produce it. We ask not the sickly dreams of the visionary. We listen to no appeals, however confidently made, to the motiveless farrago—the incoherent jargons of self-commissioned kings and prophets. We appeal to the only authenticated messages of God—the holy scriptures. If the decree ever existed it is to be found there. It is not there. It never existed.

Indeed the nature of the services rendered by these means of his ordination are such, in the kingdom of grace, that they will be essentially necessary as long as he has any of his mediatorial work to be executed, and as long as he continues to work as he always works—by means. And that will be until he "*shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father.*" Hence the parting words of our Lord, "*Go teach and baptize—and lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.*" "*Shew ye forth the Lord's death till he come again.*" Was there ever a point made more plain and explicit? Can the vocabulary of language exhibit more specific or more intelligible words? "*The coming again of the Lord Jesus*" is the limit of their duration, the period of their authority over us.

* See Dr. Dwight's Works, Sermon 160, where he demonstrates that the holy sacraments are "*standing proofs of our Lord's divine mission:*" And to oppose them is, of course, equivalent to the act of leaguing against his mission.

The terms, we have said, are very intelligible. But it is the misfortune of words in divine as well as in human laws, that they are generally plain and obvious until the thought which they convey unluckily crosses some one's path, and thwarts him in some favourite aim: they immediately become mysterious and of double and uncertain meaning.

Now, it has been always understood in the church, since the spirit of inspiration put it into universal currency, that there were two comings of Christ. His "*first coming*" and his "*second coming.*"*

Our Lord has come in "*the flesh.*" This advent was prior to the appointment of these sacraments. This cannot be "*the coming*" referred to. "*He shall appear the second time without sin unto salvation;*" he "*will descend with a shout;*" he will sit on the "*great white throne;*" he will summon all nations into his presence; he will judge the quick and the dead. This is emphatically styled "*the coming of Christ;*" and till this "*coming*" these sacraments will continue in full operation.

The leaders of the society in their incurable rage for mysticism, have very gravely told us that "Christ's coming is not to be referred to any *outward coming*, but to his *inward coming*; and this *inward coming* is nothing less and nothing more, say they, than the mission of the Spirit at Pentecost. "The coming of the Holy Ghost, is, say they, the coming of Christ—and that is past. These "ceremonies lasted till the coming of Christ." Since that they have ceased.†

Whether Sabellius of olden times, or the Sabellius of the society, is to have the merit of discovering "that the mission of the Spirit and the coming of Christ are the same thing," and whence they may have derived their authority for the theory, I profess that it is not for uninspired men to determine. But, certainly, it must have originated with that haggard spirit who

* Acts vii. 52, Acts xiii. 24, and Acts ii. 11. Heb. ix. 28, &c. I speak not here of his "comings" taken evidently in a metaphorical manner, and designed to convey the idea of some extraordinary movement in Providence, or display of grace, as in Exod. iii. 8, and xix. 11. Psal. cxi. 5. Isa. lxiv. 1. Micah. i. 3. I speak not here of these, for we must not confound things literal and metaphorical.

† See Penn vol. ii. 833, 834, 908. Barcl. Apol. Prop. 13, p. 492, and J. Pike on Bapt. and the supper, p. 119.

brooded on each of them; and whose breath has blown a withering blast over the fair system of truth; whose damning theory has confounded the holy persons of the Son and the Holy Ghost; and who has blotted out of their "*other gospel*" the most holy doctrine of the *Trinity;* and who has dried up the last stream of hope and comfort to the sad soul; and who bids the fainting pilgrim go weep in despair! But this theory will never obtain currency. "*The Lord God omnipotent reigneth!*"

The "*coming of Christ*" is not "*the mission of the Holy Ghost.*" Our Lord has ascended on high. And, according to his promise he has sent us the Holy Spirit. But, He himself, in human nature, is in the midst of the throne.* And he will remain there "*till the restitution of all things.*"† It will not help our mystic friends out of the difficulty, to refer this "*coming of our Lord*" to his secret communion with us. This he has vouchsafed to the pious of all ages. This he will not suffer to be interrupted at any period. In this manner, he will continue to come till the trump of God shall sound the last note of time. And, the Friends being witnesses, this is a "*spiritual coming.*" Let them take it in either sense, in ours, or their own, they must, in consistency, yield the point; and admit the perpetual obligation of baptism and the Lord's supper, or wage war against the obvious assurances and precepts of the Holy Ghost. Let them choose the alternative of the dilemma.

* Revel. chap. v. † Acts iii. 21.

CHAPTER IX.

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE MORAL TENDENCY OF THEIR RELIGIOUS TENETS.

"Πονηροὶ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ γόητες προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, πλανῶντες καὶ πλανώμενοι."—St. Paul.

The moral man of the world, is not the moral man of the Bible; the virtues of the former are the virtues of its philosophy—those of the latter are produced by the spirit, and regulated by the precepts of the gospel. Those divine precepts are from the same throne whence issue the laws that govern nature. It would betray the act of a maniac to assume the liberty and power of changing the laws of nature. It does betray equal folly, and much more danger to trench on the prerogatives of Deity, to dictate to infinite sovereignty what actions should form the constituent parts of morality in the bosom and in the actions of his moral subjects. Christianity is at issue with the world on this point, and we shall not yield one inch of ground to the adversary; we shall not applaud that image, that phantom, which the world has set up in the place of morality. It is hollow; it is baseless; it is a body without a spirit. To set aside the peculiar doctrines of christianity which exhibit the aids and the motives to obey its precepts, we do contend, is to take away the soul and spirit of sound morals.

The Friends have been distinguished by the name of good moralists; whether justly or not on the above principles, I shall not now enquire. I will admit the morality and sound policy usually ascribed to them; I will not detract one grain from their justice, their integrity, their honesty. Their kind and amiable manners have secured them a right to the title of Friends; their females are distinguished for their prudence, their modesty, and elegance of manners; their attention to the wants of the poor, their deportment towards the Indian tribes, and their labours in behalf of bleeding Africa, call forth our applause. I will not detract ought from the laurels which have long and justly adorned the brows of some of their leaders. I revere the memory of

governor* Barclay as a man of letters, prudence and integrity. The name of Penn associates in my mind the ideas of wisdom and sound policy, built on strict national justice; while the memory of Cortes and Pizarro floats along the stream of time, they will bear along with them the execration of mankind. But the memory of Penn as a politician, will be embalmed in the recollection of millions of freemen, who will guard the honour and laws of that fair state which bears the name of its illustrious founder.

But the society of Friends do not come before the public merely as good moralists; they thank not the world for the negative virtues in which it has officiously clothed them; they stand forward with the highest claims of a christian society; they do claim apostolical honours and an apostolical commission to their ancient elders. In the ascent of reformation they have left the christian world far behind in the gloom of the dark ages;† they tour aloft in air; they plant their proud standard on the highest battlement of Zion; they throw around them a cloud of glory and perfection; they look down with inimitable complaeency on the bustling sects crawling far below, and frown defiance to the proudest of them, to approach their height. Not as moralists do they take their proud stand, but as a new sect bearing a new modification of christianity. Christianity reformed even to sublimity! christianity stript of its peculiar institutions!

The moral tendency of their religious system may be considered in its effects on the mind; on their manners; on practical religion, and on learning. These moral effects are presented to our eyes with the historical evidence of a hundred and seventy years.

1. The doctrine of supernatural impulses, carried out in its legitimate tendency, lays their minds open to endless follies and deception.

Let a man be fully convinced that he carries in his bosom a power that dictates every proper measure, and guides him with infallibility, and he will seldom act like a sober and rational being. He will check, as intrusions, the dictates of reason; and

* He was appointed governor of New Jersey in A. D. 1682, by Charles II. † Bar. Apol. Prop. x. sect. 11.

he will spurn from him the advices of friends. Even the holy counsels of the Bible will loose their weight with him. Never content with common means, and common things, nothing short of supernatural agency comes up to the measure of his taste. He will court with anxiety the dream, or the still voice of the awful midnight hour; or the solemn vision of the forest, or of the cave. He will be the child of superstition. A strong inclination, nursed by some particular bias, will have the force, with him, of a divine impulse. He will, by degrees, transfer the influence of these motions from moral objects to the common affairs of life. They will, in process of time, be put in requisition to guide his appetites, his business, and even his gestures. Incidents are on record in the history of the sect, which do abundantly show that this is no theory.

One of these reforming inspirati was moved to carry off the sand glass from the priest's desk. He affirmed that he did it *in obedience to the Spirit.* And Fox insisted that that could not be theft which was prompted by inspiration.* One of these inspired few resided in major Hobson's family. Finding his mind inaccessible to argument, the major, by means of a long tube, carried into a trunk that stood in the chamber of the Friend, conveyed dismal sounds into his ears, about the witching time of night. His mind having been suitably elevated by this preparatory measure, he heard words distinctly calling on him to arise and go to a certain place. He arose and devoutly obeyed the oracle.† Fox, when walking over a plain received a command from the invisible guide within to ascend the adjacent cliffs, and he promptly obeyed.‡ When seated at the table, it said, "George eat not;" and he arose forthwith.§ Toldervy was the most implicit in his obedience. "*He could not limit the holy one in him in any thing.*" He had been a dashing and gay servant in colonel Webb's family. But after hearing one Quaker lecture this spirit in him new modelled his whole life. Thou shalt not use "*you and ye.*" And he thenceforth used the style of the sanctified. Thou shalt not use "points nor a hat-band, nor one

* "Great mystery," old Edit. p. 77, and "Snake, &c." p. 94, Edit. 3, or p. 91. 2 Edit. † Faldo's "Quak. &c." p. 27, and Penn. vol. ii. p. 306. ‡ Jour. vol. i. 173. § Vol. i. p. 172.

unnecessary button." And he rejected them. He met the colonel no longer with an obsequious air, but under a huge hat and with "*William Webb, how does thy body do?*" While the colonel was entertaining a polite company, "I was moved by the spirit," said John, "to go and dine with them." Instead of waiting on his master, he walked into the hall, covered, and with a gravity that was not to be discomposed, he took his stool, placed it at the head of the table, "and applied himself to his work." We next find him behind a counter. But the spirit moved him to give new names to certain articles that "were named by the will of man." This new nomenclature produced such confusion that he was again dismissed. In short, he eat when prompted by his spiritual guide: and refrained, scrupulously, from those viands which it proscribed.* Some were prompted to rid themselves of the shackles of clothes, and to act the Lupercus. Some were moved to take off the hat in prayer. Some were moved not to take off the hat. Some it moved to stand during devotion: some it moved to sit. Guided by these impulses, some laid aside the leading institutions of Christ. Muggleton, though not of the society, professed to follow the same infallible guide, and, outrageously consistent, he rejected the Bible, and teachers, and pastors, and sacraments, and assemblies for worship. In late times, Shackleton revived this principle in the society in Ireland; and rigorously followed it up, till he found himself precisely where this enthusiasm carries its votaries—in the train of Herbert and Hume, and the miserable Paine.†

2. The first grand tenet of the sect has a tendency to lead men into the wildering mazes of deism.

Their leading tenet elevates their revelations above the Bible: and the Holy Bible is made to sink into a secondary rule; liable to be interpreted by their revelations; and obeyed only so far as it corresponds with their impulses.‡ These revelations, say they, do all that the scriptures can do—and in a superior manner. The scriptures are from the Spirit, but they have that very Spirit as their guide. And "*propter quod unumquodque est*

* See his book, "*Foot out of the Snare*," pp. 10, 15, 17, 18, 19, &c. See the Note D. Appendix I. † See "The Snake in the Grass," sect. 21, for further specimens equally striking ‡ Penn. vol. ii. p. 515.

tale, illud ipsum est magis tale."* It is true, in all their defences, they confound their impulses and the Spirit. Or their impulses and the Spirit are the same. Hence their conclusion that they are superior to the Bible. It is only an extension of the same idea, when they say, that "Turks and pagans who never heard of the history of the sufferings and death of Christ, may, by the light within, be saved, as well as the christian."

These opinions are advocated in the Apology with all the ingenuity and wildering sophistry of Barclay.† It is easy to see what must be the conclusions to which the mind of the Friend is led, who approaches Barclay with all the prepossessions of sectarian partiality. "These scriptures are good. But my fathers and I think that they are not *essentially* necessary. I have that in me—and every man has that in him, which is really superior. They are the *secondary rule.* I have in me the *primary rule.* These are but as a dead letter, compared to my infallible guide." The next step to the Quaker, is easy and natural. Every believer in Barclay rises up from the perusal of the Apology, as really and practically a Deist, as if he had been studying Herbert or Bolingbroke, or Hume!

The Keithian controversy which agitated the society in Philadelphia and London in the days of Penn, affords proof of the existence of deism among them at that early period. It is a fact capable of the most distinct proof from the writings of that period, that the accusation brought against Keith was "*that he preached two Christs.*" The proof was that he taught "that the Lord Jesus is in the heavens in human nature, and that the light within is the spiritual presence of Christ:" for this doctrine he was condemned. The process began in Philadelphia—the final sentence was pronounced in London. Keith justly replied, "if I am guilty of error in your estimation, then you do deny the real Christ in human nature in heaven; if you do not deny Christ thus in glory, how can you pronounce me guilty? How can you assert that I preach two Christs?"‡

* Bar. Apol. Prop. iii. Sect. 2. † Apol. Prop. iii.

‡ See Keith's *New England Spirit of Persecution*, p. 2, and his *Deism of W. Penn*, and 'Snake," edit. 2, p. 61, 65, 66; and on the other side, see his Antagonist's, S. Jennings, Acct. of this Controv. at Philad.

The infidel system of Woolston furnishes an additional proof of this fact; it grew up by the most natural process, out of the Quaker principles. This idea was suggested and pursued at some length by Richard, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, in his review of Woolston: he has established this position, that Woolston and the Friends explained away, by the magic of allegory, the literal meaning of the New Testament—and particularly that they opposed the spiritual and inward Christ to the outward and carnal Christ, in all the circumstances of his birth, death and resurrection.* The anonymous champion of the society was a novice at argument; his strength lay in denying the resemblance.† The able author of the defence of the bishop went fully into the examination of this subject; he laid down the following points of resemblance; and the copious extracts from Woolston and the writers of the society, have fairly borne him out in his argument. "1. Some of the leading Quakers as well as Woolston, seem to deny the facts relating to an outward Christ. 2. Other leading Quakers express themselves with great indifference, as likewise does Woolston, whether the facts of an outward Christ were performed or not—and if performed, they do, with him, deny the *necessity* of the belief of them. 3. The Quakers in general assert that these outward facts are typical of the operations of the inward Christ; so does Woolston professedly. 4. The Quakers infinitely prefer the *inward Christ* to the *outward and carnal Christ*. 5. Woolston has copied their mode of allegory. 6. By the means of allegory both of them explain away the holy sacraments. 7. Some of them agree with Woolston that there is no other resurrection, nor hell, nor heaven, but those within them."‡

Since that period this spirit has been silently maintaining its deadly march; there has been no Keith within to check it—without, there has been no Leslie armed with "The Snake" to chastise the lowering demon back to its place.

The frequency of expulsions, with the sentiments which the narratives of expelled members breathe, and the facts which

* See the "*Vindication of the Miracles of Jesus*," p. 572. † Letters first and second to the Bp. of L. and Coventry, No. 898, octavo, Philad. Lib. ‡ Vind. of the Bishop of L. and Cov. p. 146, 147, edition of A. D. 1733.

they detail, furnish additional proof that their leading tenet respecting the scriptures, has diffused this spirit. We have only to open the narratives of Rathbone and of Evans to see this. Themselves the advocates of this principle,* they bring forward facts to show that the pestilential spirit has spread its ravages, especially in Ireland. Deism was advocated in the national meeting there in 1797, and met with a feeble opposition; at the next annual meeting some offenders were excluded, and an order was issued that an edition of the Apology should be published *to check the growing evil.* But in the same decree, in the fatal spirit of that very Apology, they avowed the deistical sentiment that "*the scriptures are writings which are only a secondary rule under the spirit of truth.*" And by the "spirit of truth," every Quaker knows the light within is meant. The followers of Herbert from Hume to Paine call it *reason* or *conscience.*†

Rathbone did assure the society, (and he spoke from deep experience,) that the publishing of the Apology would have an effect exactly the reverse of what they wished.‡

This state of matters, in Ireland, was announced to the annual meeting in London. In a debate on a certificate given to a prophetess who had actually ventured to advocate the divine warrant of the Jewish wars under Moses and Joshua, which certificate had been given by the annual meeting of Ireland, it was stated by a leading member, (in the face of the meeting in London,) that the select, or national meeting of ministers in Ireland, was in such a state that nothing was of any account which came from it.§

It is not supposed that the resemblance between the Friend and the Deist extends over every item of their systems. Nothing can be more different than their style and language. The Friend quotes scripture. His language abounds with it. He speaks in an imposing form of Christ; of his death; of his atonement; of his salvation.‖ Language, however, is but the arbitrary signs

* Rathb. Nar. p. 175, &c. † See the papers of Hancock, Shackleton, with the Nar. of Rathbone and of Evans. (Phil.) p. 27. See the Report of the committee of the Natl. An. meeting of Ireland, A. D. 1798. The Extr. in Rathbone's Nar. p. 53. ‡ Rathb. Nar. p. 53 and 101.
§ Rathb. Nar. p. 109, and of his Memorial, p. 92. ‖ See chap. vii. Sect. 2 and 3, preceding.

of our ideas. Make the Friend define his terms. Ask him what Christ he speaks of? What is the atonement? What is salvation? "*Uno ore nobiscum loqui videntur, sed ludunt tantum æquivocationibus ad decipiendas idiotas comparatis.*"*

In defiance of the difference of style they are strongly associated with Deists. And though they come forward as different sects, they make their force bear on the common enemy with the deadly aim of a combined power. The Deist has excluded from his meagre system the most holy doctrine of Trinity. The Friend does the same—only he admits what resembles the Platonic triad as modified by Sabellius or by Socinus. The Deist denies the necessity of an atonement by the shedding of blood. Penn does the same in the most decided and forcible terms.† The Deist denies the truth of the atonement. The Friend does the same. But he has the sufferings, the death, the atonement of the Christ *within him.* The Deist rejects the permanent office of the holy ministry. The Friend does the same. But admits that the inspired brother may exhort when he is moved. The Deist rejects the holy Sabbath. The Friend denies the divine warrant to keep it holy—and makes "all days alike." The Deist has rejected the holy sacraments. The Friend does the same. But he satisfies himself that he has an *inward* baptism, and an *inward* supper. Each of these sects has put into the breast of all men, independent of the holy scriptures, a sufficient rule and guide to happiness.‡ On this principle, as a most natural consequence, each of them is hostile to Bible societies, and to missionary enterprises. This inward principle, each contends, may be called *Logos.* They differ as to the name it ought to assume in the lips of the vulgar. The Deist will render it *reason.* The Friend calls it Christ, or light, or spirit. The Deist makes this being or thing to display its energies in every man—Turk, savage, and christian. The Friend gives it equal powers. The Deist exalts it above scripture. The Quaker does the same. The march of intellect, and the reign of reason is the salvation of the Deist. The *rising up of this light*

* Cloppenburgii Gangræna, A. D. 1645, p. 2. † His "Sandy Foundation Shaken." And chap. 7, sect. 1 and 2, of this work. ‡ Hence their abuse of those texts: 1 Cor. xii. 7. Titus ii. 11.

inwardly, is that of the Quaker.* The Deist stands insulated from the whole religious world; and frowns defiance and contempt on every sect. The Quaker has hitherto rejected every overture of fellowship with the churches, and preached the bitterest sarcasms on our ministry and our solemn ordinances!

3. Their grand tenet of the universal *inward* light has a tendency to destroy rational and true religion. "*The rising up of this light*" *is*, with them, *the resurrection of Christ:* another of its movements is his sufferings and death. They who never heard of the history of our Lord have the atonement *within* them.† Pagans though "blinded in their minds, and burdened by superstition, are united to the Lord." "Their salvation is effected without the knowledge of Christ in the gospel, as persons are cured by medicines which operate in them, though they know neither their nature nor their name."‡ Thus the purity of religion is not inconsistent with pagan superstition: nor the gloom of ignorance with devotion. Thus religion is not the result of a clear mind, and a sound judgment, investigating, believing, and acting. It is a mere mechanical operation of a foreign power or substance within, called "the Light," producing certain undefined effects in the region of the mind; while the devotee is left as ignorant of religion and of morals, as the patient is of the composition of his cathartic!

Thus the church invisible is composed of a medley of characters, and of jarring elements. Some are redeemed by the only Lord and Saviour—others by the energies of the light. Some are saved through the knowledge and belief of the truth: others, though adults, are destitute of both. Some are the sons of God without rebuke in the midst of impiety and crime: others are superstitious pagans in life—and, dying, "*they curse their king and their gods, and look upward!*"

4. Their general principles are hostile to the practice of brotherly love and charity. They have drawn around themselves a trench deep and wide. Within this they have entrenched themselves. And, in this age of concord, they approach no sect of Christians. They place themselves in a state as in-

* See chap. vii. sect. 3, preceding.
‡ Apol. Prop. v. and vi. sect. 25.
† Apol. Prop. x. sect. 2, 4.

sulated as the Jews. The spirit of their fathers reared this barrier; and taught them this bigotry. "*He*," (the pope,) "*and you*," (protestants,) said Fox, "*are apostatized from the infallible spirit of the apostles in which* WE *have come.*"* "*Our holy religion*," said Penn, "*has God for its father, and victory for its offspring.*"† "*We know that we are of God, and all who oppose our testimony*" (of the light within,) "*are in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity.*"‡ Even the enlightened Barclay lets himself down among the sins of bigotry. He proscribes the whole protestant church. They are all destitute of the spirit of religion. They are all overrun with error—and need the hand of the reformer, as much as the Romish church.§ And Penn, with the thunder of the Vatican, sweeps away her ministry, and her sacraments, and her existence.‖

These sentiments, uncharitable as they are, and worthy of a Spanish inquisition, the society have, with scrupulous exactness, brought into all their practice. They have no fellowship with the christian world. They never unite in prayer with them. They never enter their temples. They never bid them God speed. They never accept of a God speed from them. They will not give a child in marriage, to a member of any christian society. They will receive none in marriage, unless they renounce even the scruples of their conscience. They denounce the children of their own bowels if they frequent a christian church. They sternly deny them the liberty of conscience to read the books of other societies. They disown them if they marry out of the society. And they command the parents of disowned youth, not "to entertain or even to comfort them."¶ Some of their enlightened members have lamented this state of things. But the voice of lovely charity has been hitherto drowned in the tumultuous clamours of bigotry. And yet, with an amiable kind of inconsistency, they assume the title of *Friends:* and they are kind and obliging in their intercourse with the world.

* "Great Myst. Anc." Edit. p. 105. "Snake," &c. p. 37. † Vol. ii. 228. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 194. § Apol. Prop. xiii. sect. 1. ‖ Vol. ii. pp. 916, 911. ¶ Rathbone's Narrative, p. 42, 44, 45, &c. Appendix, No. 5.

5. Their tenets are hostile to the sciences.

The society, to speak in general terms, have not permitted the Muses to find a residence among them. They make little account of the humane and moral effects of science; and still less of that noble and intellectual gratification which men of learning enjoy in the pursuits of science. They fix the value of the sciences by a peculiar standard—that standard is a certain kind of utility. Such is that spirit which guides their decisions, that nothing comes up to its measure which is not positively connected with business and the means of gain. They are strangers to the languages; they despise the rules of polished composition and eloquence; logic and philosophy disgust them; the science and art of music, which has charms for the savage, and raptures for the polished mind, have not charms for them; chemistry and physics are not utterly rejected, they are valuable guides in the path of gain. Of mathematics, the solitary branch which treats of numbers meets with patrons; and a graceful leger is generally preferred to the fairest course of science.

This is not the accidental whim of caprice. Their principles breathe a spirit of hostility to the liberal sciences. They deem it presumptuous and unholy to undertake the defence of spirituals by the mere labours of mortal intellect; and the case will be made still worse if that intellect has been polished by human means.* Their *light within* is an inexhaustible fund of support in all defensive operations; human ingenuity and ratiocination can add nothing to its energies: and if the dead languages should be necessary, even that help will be vouchsafed by the "*Light.*" This is not conjecture. The learned Barclay has assured us that a Friend, so illiterate that he could not even read, actually corrected a Hebrew quotation made by a learned professor:† and if an illiterate man, why not other men? If Hebrew roots are thus at the skilful controul of this "*Light,*" why not the whole of the arcana of nature?‡

This hostility to learning is hereditary. "All languages are to me as dust,"§ said their founder. And in the days of Crom-

* Hence their cant about "college made ministers." † Apol. Prop. iii. sect. 4, and x. sect. 19. See note B. appendix. ‡ As Behmen (Life, &c. by Okely, p. 23, 112, 117,) and G. Fox (Journal i. p. 105) did actually believe! § Fox's *Battledoor*, see the Introduction.

well, Fox gave a practical comment on these words, by placing himself in the front of those who would have quenched the light of science by a decisive blow. He addressed the populace in this style: "I declare, in the presence of God, that magistrates that are in the fear of the Lord will break down mass houses, and schools, and colleges in which you make ministers."* Penn would spare the schools, but he would turn the colleges and universities into desolation.† And the mild Barclay is transformed into a Goth against literature. "*It is more hurtful than useful.*" As "*for logic and philosophy*" they ought to be "*forgotten and lost.*" For systematic divinity it "*is a monster; it is man in his devilish wisdom*"—Nay "*it is the devil obscuring the knowledge of God.*"‡ The labours of the leaders were not lost on the populace; while they applauded their zeal, they yielded themselves to the undisturbed repose of easy contented ignorance.

Yet how inconsistent is human nature even when guided by inspirations! In the intervals of this Gothic fury against letters, Penn has quoted Rabbis, and Latins, and Greeks! Barclay is ever on the catch to overwhelm his antagonist by Latin, and syllogisms, and the *Fathers!* Fox relieved his paroxysms of anger against learning *by publishing eight books in Latin, and a polyglott.*§ And the Quakers are the only sect known to have become *martyrs* and *confessors* for the strict and *grammatical use of* "*thou and thee!!*"

The effects of this hostility to the sciences is strongly marked on the features of the society at this day; they have few men of science;‖ they have no literary societies; they have no periodi-

* See Fox's "*Papists' Strength,*" printed in the year 1658, and "Snake in the Grass," p. 219. And the fury of Fox and his associates was followed up by an "*Address to Parliament,*" on the same subject, signed by "7000 handmaids and daughters of the Lord."

† Vol. ii. p. 56. ‡ Apol. Prop. x. sect. 15, 20, 21. When free from the bias of the sect, Barclay advocated schools and learning. Sect. 15.

§ The polyglott had the *name of Fox attached to each page.* It certainly was *his* polyglott; for it was discovered that *a Jew received his full price for it.* "Snake," p. 84.

‖ It is pleasing to have some brilliant exceptions. Lindley Murray, the philosophical Waring (Miller's Retrosp. vol. i. 43.) Doctor Birkbeck, Anthony Purver (Lempr. Biog. Dict.) Gummere, Dr. Jones, Professor Griscom, &c. But we can allow them no more merit in producing these, than what they will claim for giving us two of our favourite Generals—General Green, and General Brown of the U. S. Army.

cal publications;* they have no learned academies; they have no colleges; they have produced no learned works. There is a peculiar vacancy of mind in their leading men, and a want of disposition or unfitness to support a conversation on a topic of history or the sciences.

In the domestic circle and around the festive board, this feature assumes a more marked form; there are, occasionally, long and dreary pauses in the conversation; the lips of all the party are sealed in an obstinate taciturnity. The world had assigned as the natural cause of this, their limited edu cation, and a consequent barrenness of idea. But Clarkson has the merit of *inventing* the true cause. He gravely tells us, that the party is retired into themselves, and are waiting for supernatural impulses! Nature, the philosophers tell us, abhors *a vacuum*; and it is very natural that the human mind in a state of *vacuum*, should crave replenishment from some source. If the common means resorted to by philosophers and christians should be refused as too degrading; if holy revelations should be denied to them—even like Saul, it will court the presence and commerce of unearthly beings, and bow down at the shrine of demons!

6. Their doctrine of infallibility has a pernicious tendency. The elders of the society have claimed this attribute: and they have maintained their defence with no common warmth. The force of argument and the edge of satire have driven them from the high ground which they assumed at first. But they still hold, in an obstinate manner, a qualified infallibility. They lay down this position. "*The infallible spirit is given to every one of us.*" Their proof is this. "The spirit is infallible." Each of us has the spirit. Each of us, therefore, is infallible.† They do not say,

* That is exclusively their own. The "Philanthropist" was conducted chiefly by Friends. 1817.

† This syllogism has a fatal chasm in it. They do not establish the identity of *their spirit* with the *Holy Ghost*. And, if their spirit were infallible, that does not prove that he leads them in an infallible manner. Clarkson, in his panegyric of the sect, has strangely omitted their attribute of infallibility. If any doubt the fact of this claim, I refer for proof to Barclay's works, Lond. 1692, p. 893. His Anarchy of Ranters, p. 84, 88. Penn, vol. ii. 106, 126, 241, 252, 263, 330. Pennington, vol. ii. p. 674. Fox's Great Myst. Epist. to the reader, p. 7, and p. 33, &c. Griff. Jour. 189. Rathb. Nar. append. No. vi. 66, 70, &c. The two branches of this doctrine, are 1 That of their sinless perfection. 2. That of discerning spirits.

that the man is infallible. But he has this spirit in him. And in proportion as he adheres to its dictates, he acts and judges in a manner infallibly correct.

"This doctrine of infallibility," says a sensible writer, who was once a leading Quaker—"even thus qualified and limited, is, under the influence of enthusiasm and credulity, as liable to abuse as absolute infallibility. It is impalpable to all grasp. It eludes all inquiry. It acknowledges no definite connexion with persons, places, or time. It admits of no test by which the validity of its claims can be fairly ascertained. And, finally, it resolves itself into an accommodating truism of no practical use; that they who are infallible must be right. And the competent judges of their practice and opinions, are those only who concur with them."*

From this dangerous tenet has originated the self-sufficiency that marks the leaders of the sect. Hence that spirit with which they view every other sect of christians. Hence that unblushing confidence with which their illiterate deaconesses and deacons can address a public assembly. Hence it is that the mind of the Friend is entrenched within his hereditary opinions, and bids defiance to argument and persuasion. Hence that peculiar feature in their devotions. The printed and the spoken prayers of their prophets afford no instance of the confession of sin, and contrition for the weakness and corruption of their nature.† Hence that peculiar character of their writings. They never retract. They defend every sentiment, the most crude and contradictory that has fallen from the pen of fanaticism. Penn has professedly defended every feature of Fox's inspirations!‡

* Rathb. Nar. Appendix, No. vi. p. 66. † See chap. ii. sect. 2, preceding. ‡ See vol. ii. pp. 119, 139, 146, 147, 191, 216, 434, 541, &c. It was on this principle that the society, in 1711, resisted the attempt to review and correct the books of Friends. They reasoned *a priori*. Since they were written by the infallible spirit, there could be no error in them.

THE CONCLUSION.

"Μεγαλων απολισθαινειν ὁμως ευγενες ἁμαρτημα."---LONGINUS.

This history of the opinions of the Friends, and of their organization as a separate sect, and of the moral tendency of their system, I now bring to a close. I lay it at the feet of my Divine Master, and implore his benediction on it.

I have not lessened, nor have I aggravated, from design, aught of their peculiar system. I have laboured to come at the truth, so far as I could trace it through so many obscure windings. Much pains have been taken to quote correctly. With the labour and pains of many years *our* doctrinal and historical indices were filled up from every writer, of any name, in the society. In these their different opinions were collated. These I have had before me with the best editions of their favourite authors which I could obtain.

The society's attention I cannot expect. They are as rigorous as the holy father and cardinals of Rome in framing their *index expurgatorius*. With them there is no *practical* liberty of the press. Their internal polity takes it utterly away. *Our* people read both sides of the question. *They* absolutely prohibit their youth, and, indeed, members in general, from looking into any book not of their *index*. From the year 1676, their monthly and quarterly meetings are enjoined to "*keep an exact account what priests and others have written books against Friends.*"* And the person and name, not the book, is usually held up to view. *Their people durst not, and, generally speaking, cannot read our books.* They would be persecuted even to expulsion—if, asserting their natural rights, they would think for themselves. Their opinions become hereditary. They manage the matter by proxy! And even many of their leading members and preachers

* Lond. Epist. for A. D. 1676.

will hardly venture themselves. If they are hardy enough—it is somewhat after the godly example of the abbot of St. Cyran, who never took up a book of the heretics without going through the process *of exorcising the devil out of it.*

"Sed fortasse nos non canimus surdis."

The regard of the christian world is respectfully solicited to this historical review of the Quaker system. Men, brethren and fathers, examine and decide for yourselves. I place it in your hands with diffidence and respect.

If these statements be correct, as it is honestly believed that they are, it will be no difficult matter to form a just idea of the system. Of their amiable virtues we speak not. Those merit every praise. Of their admirable civil polity, embracing their internal and external polity, we say nothing which is not tempered with respect, and even applause. But their religious system, and their christian aspect, we hold up to view, as those of a sect making the most inordinate pretensions and claims.

From this exhibition of facts, it is seen that their system combines, in one heterogeneous mass, almost every species of heresy and error, ancient and modern: that with Saccas they are mystics—and have excluded some of the most sacred institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ: that with Sabellius they are Sabellians, on the most sacred doctrine of Trinity, and the distinct divine persons: that with Pelagius they are Pelagians: that with Arminius, they are Arminians on the doctrine of grace: that with Paul of Samoseta, and the Ebionites, and the two Socini, they are Unitarians, and reject from their creed the most sacred Trinity, and the distinct personality of the Son of God, and the atonement; that with Origen and others of modern name they are Universalists. And yet, in the modification of these sentiments, there are so many repulsive materials wrought up in them, that the society can never amalgamate with any one of all these sects. They cannot even approximate to a friendly communion with any sect within or without the limits of the visible church! "*Arise, O God! plead thine own cause—lift up thy feet unto the perpetual desolations, even all that the enemy hath*

done wickedly in the sanctuary. They have cast fire into thy sanctuary; they have defiled, by casting down, the dwelling place of thy name unto the ground. Turn us again, O God, and cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved. Thou shalt arise and have mercy on Zion. For the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come!"— Psalm lxxiv. &c.

THE END.

APPENDIX I.

Note A.—Sect. 14, *Part I.*

John Brown was banished Nov. 6, 1662: and died in Holland, 1679, of a lingering disease. The king of England exerted his influence to get him banished from Holland, but the states protected him. The friends of Barclay and of Quakerism have affected to consider Brown as a rustic and illiterate man. Nothing can be more erroneous. See Mr. Ward's character of him, (and he knew him well.) "He was eminent in grace and learning, and of great natural powers; a man of undaunted courage in opposing corruption and error; and jealous for the Lord of Hosts above all his brethren." Pref. to Brown on the Romans.

Cruikshanks calls him "the learned, zealous and pious Brown." Hist. vol. i. p. 134. The illustrious and learned Leydecker, Professor of Theology at Utrecht, has given a character of Brown in his preface to Brown on Justification. "His praise lives deservedly in the churches, and his light shone in our low countries: having been banished his native land for his zeal, piety, faithfulness and good conscience. He wrote with a great deal of wisdom," &c. &c. &c.

F. Spanheim Filius, whom Professor Leydecker calls "the most famous divine of that age," was a warm friend of Brown, and gave his public approbation of him as a writer. The learned professor applauded Brown's book on the "*Morality of the Sabbath.*" Brown was succeeded in his pastoral charge in Rotterdam, by Fleming, the author of "the *Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*"

Note B.—Sect. 25, *Part I.*

Keith.—After this rupture, the society poured its vials of wrath on "poor Keith's"* head. And individuals uttered their personal anathemas. The prophetical curse of the inflammable Whitehead was the most intemperate. See "The Snake," &c. sect. 20, for a copy of it.

After this, Keith was reconciled to the church of England; and became a regular priest. In the years 1702, 1703, 1704, he per-

* The term used by the writers of the society after the rupture: while "*honest George,*" when in good standing, was applauded for his "*learning and Platonic studies.*" See Penn's letter to Turner. "Snake," &c. p. 333.

formed an important and successful mission on the American continent, under the care of the *Episcopal Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts.* His services were attended with a signal divine blessing in Pennsylvania and Jersey. During this service, and by his former labours among the Quakers, *seven hundred Quakers were converted from their errors and were baptized.* See Dr. Humphry's Hist. of the above society: Lond. A. D. 1730. And Christ. Observer for April, 1816.*

Note C.—Part II. Chap. I. p. 21.

ON ORACLES, IMPULSES, &c.

". . . . They were often of a salutary and moral tendency." They did sometimes preserve the lives and liberties of a people; they sometimes prevented wars and the effusion of blood. Pausan. Greece, vol. iii. p. 6, 240. vol. iii. p. 69. edit. 1794, translated. They marked out men who were the saviours of their country. Cornel. Nep. vit. Miltiadis: and the fall of great men. Niceph. Cal. Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 512. fol. Tacitus Annal, lib. ii. cap. 54. Sueton. vita Domitiani.

Those of the ancients who aspired to philosophical views of this subject, were much divided on the character of oracles. The most rational and virtuous sects did not ascribe them to evil demons. The doctrine of *evil demons* seemed to form no part of the system of the Platonists. They considered them celestial beings. They were the objects of love and worship. See Plat. Epinom. Opera ejus, 1011. And Ogilvie's Plat. Phil. p. 76. Hence they considered oracles to proceed from the deity, whose messengers these demons were. "Oracles are ever from God, says Aristotle, και μη βελτιστοις," κ. τ. λ. "And that he sends them not to the best and the wisest, but to men as it may happen, is an absurd conceit." Aristot. De Divin. &c. cap. i. Spencer on Vulgar Proph. &c. p. 41. Besides the sect of the Platonics, the Stoics embraced these sentiments, and advocated the divinity of oracles. On the other side, the sects of the Cynics, Peripatetics and Epicurians entered the lists. They ascribed them to fraud. They boldly ridiculed the purelities and ambiguities of Delphi. And if we look to their numbers, their physical strength, at least, is not small. Euseb. Evangel. Prepar.

* For an account of some of the principal books, published during the Keithian controversy, see a curious MS. no. 1413, Philad. Library, vol. i. p. 23. W. small quarto.

lib. iv. mentions six hundred pagan authors who had written against oracles. See Fontenelle's Hist. of Oracles, (no. 1655, duodecimo. Phila. Library, p. 54.) Of the moderns, the Dutch writer Bekker, in his book "*The World Bewitched*," which made a great noise in the end of the 17th century, insists that the spirit of Python, was a good spirit. But Wyenus refuted him, as F. A. Lampe shows us in his learned Treatise concerning the Θεοπνευσαι, sect. 8. (Rev. J. De Witt's library.) Fontenelle, in his history of oracles, combats the doctrine of oracles coming from the impulse of Demons. He ridicules the idea of their being in any way supernatural. He admits, that the general belief of the learned, was then against him. But he refers the current doctrine to the "easy belief" of the primitive fathers, who originated it: and he labours to make Cicero of his sentiment, "and to spare nothing the most sacred at Rome." Fontenelle, p. 6, 61, &c. Van Dale (De Idol. et Div. part 3, cap. 10.) has attempted to show, that the whole is fraud and imposition. Of the same opinion is the English writer Ady, and especially John Webster, in his book "of the arts of Witchcraft," chap. 6, sect. 49. And it was deemed a suspicious circumstance, and in their favour, that females, credulous and too easily imposed upon, were usually employed to utter the oracles. Thus, at Delphos the Pythia; and at Dodona, as Strabo informs us, "three old women gave them out." And genuine witchcraft is found only among the gray tangled hairs, and frightful wrinkles of poor, old and crazy females. But keeping out of view modern cases, Lampe (De Theopneustai, sect. 6.) shows that the cases which they quote will not bear them out. The one brought from the sacred page makes clearly against them. (Acts xvi.) The "damsel" had a spirit of Python. It was a being certainly distinct from her. And this spirit was cast out of her by the apostle, in the name of the Lord Jesus. Some writers, leaning to Van Dale's sentiment, are inclined to add to fraud, the aid of a natural or acquired habit: that of ventriloquism. It is certain from Plutarch, (De Oracul. Defec. p. 414.) that with Greek writers, the words πυθων and εγγαστριμυθον are synonymous. And the derivation of the former word (by Clerk in Lampe, ut supra, sect. 7.) from the Hebrew פות Puth imus venter mulieris: and by Stockius, lexicon, who adds spirtus impuritatis amans ex imo ventre loquitur." These Pythons, says Schleusner, in verbo, "clausis labiis, inflatis buccis, tumido ventre, vel humi jacentes, vel tripodi insidentes ita loquebantur ut verba non ore proferrentur, sed intus in pectore audirentur, et homines superstitiosi facile credebant alium in pectore

loqui." Turieu opposes this in his book. "Des Dogm." part iii. Tract 2, cap. 5. And so does Deylingius, and also Wolfius. "There is 'no evidence,' say they, 'that this Pythia' used a strange sound. She spoke with a loud voice." But circumstances persuade us, says Lampe, (Theop. sect. 7.) that besides these usual paroxysms of ventriloquists, she uttered words in an ordinary form of speech; "quæ edocta sunt in ipso afflatu diabolico." Some ancient writers ascribed them to some natural causes operating in the place whence they were given forth. Plutarch wrote a treatise Περι των εκλελοιποτων χρησηριων: "concerning the oracles that have ceased." [Not the ceasing of oracles, as too many have rendered it. For unless there be some other evidence, this certainly will not prove that oracles ceased at the introduction of christianity.] He ascribes the ceasing of some oracles, in part, to a natural cause. The vapour by which the Pythia became inebriated and frantic, had lost its strength. He seems to have thought, that "the divine vapour" inspired the oracles. So also, Jamblicus De Myst. Egypt. p. 66. "Sibylla suscipiebat deum per spiritum tenuem igneumque qui erumpebat ex antri ore, &c." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. p. 93, and Strabo Geogr. lib. ix. are of the same opinion: and also Longinus, who uses the epithet "ατμος ενθεος." De Sublim. sect. 13.* Prudentius also, who has said, "Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores." In Apoth. tit. contra Jud. In perfect consistency with the Platonic idea, "that demons were pure subtle air." Plat. Oper. Epinom. p. 1011.) Aristotle reconciles the two. The Sibylls had no other inspiration, no other demon than "those divine vapours," by which they were agitated. Aristot. Probl. sect. 30. And this operated on them like fiery spirits. "Ardebant torrente vi magna flammarum." Amon. Marcel. lib. 21. and Spencer on Vulg. proph. p. 106 and 107. In farther proof of this, some of the ancients state, that at Abdera there were pasture fields, in which the horses were turned into a state of fury and madness. Plin. lib. 25. c. 8. And Tully De Natura Deor. observes, that this vapour or atmosphere affected also the people of the place, "obnoxios esse stupori." Consult Templeri Idea Theol. Leviath. p. 329. (Queen's Coll. Library, N. B.) Cicero seems to favour this doctrine, where he says: "Quid tam divinum quam afflatus ex terra mentem ita movens ut eam providam rerum futurarum efficiat; ut ea non modo cernat multo ante;

* "Ενθα ρηγμα εστι γης ὁ ἀναπνειν φασιν ἀτμον ενθεον." Longin. De sub. sect. 13.

sed etiam numero versuque pronunciet?" De Divin. lib. 2. But in another place lib. 2. cap. 54, he produces this very circumstance as an argument, to prove that there was "art and contrivance" at least, in these oracles. For it is physically impossible, that responses could be made and uttered in high wrought poetry and verse, by a human being labouring under a fit of epilepsy.

Some of our divines are of opinion, that even in the case of some among the pagans, the Holy Ghost might overrule their minds; and bend them to his own purpose, and give forth a truth by them. Hieron. Comment in Job. "Illis, (he is speaking of the prophets who were not of the true religion,) dedit Deus verbum suum, ut pronunciarent mysteria futura hominibus." Dr. Owen (on the spirit, vol. i. book ii. ch. 2. sect 18.) is also of this opinion. And the cases of Balaam and the Magi at our Saviour's birth, and the Pythia (Acts xvi.) bear him sufficiently out in this point. For these pagans uttered divine truths from neither their own powers nor inclination, but by a superior and divine power prompting them. He is not so fortunate in the next case which he refers to, where he says, "and this must also be acknowledged by those who believe that the famous Sibylls recorded predictions of our Lord." The question respecting the characters of these Sibylls, and the forgery of those books, now bearing the name of the "Sibylline Oracles," is now fairly settled; and it is to be hoped, will never again be stirred. It is certain, that the characters and the doctrines of these Sibylls, were, if we believe their own writings, infamous in the greatest degree. They could not have been from God. (See Prideaux Connect. vol. iv. book ix. part 2.) And there is in them a minuteness of detail in their predictions, which is the reverse of every divine prediction. Even credulity itself must admit, that even Satan had not sagacity enough to divine as this *expost facto* prophesyer does. "The virgin Mary shall conceive and bear a son," says this forger, pretending to deliver a prediction as old as Isaiah, "And his name shall be called Jesus." Sibyll. lib. ii. Spencer on Vulg. prop. p. 90.

The Jewish writers and the christian fathers have demonstrated this truth, that the oracles were given out by *evil demons*. Euseb. Evang. prop. Le Clerc's Life of Euseb. p. 158. Lond. edit. of 1696. Epiphanius having made a distinction between ἐκστασις ὑπνου, and the ἐκστασις φρενων, refers the last to the *frantic* prophets, whose minds became useless, and their speech incoherent. Lib. i. Contra Hæres. 48. These heathen prophets became "ὀργανον δαιμονος" "the organ

of the demon." When slow to move, they used certain stimulating processes to invite this influence. "The idolatrous prophets among the Jews," says Maimonides, "used not to prophecy until they had used extatical solemnities, and had become frantic and epileptical." Maim. Idol. cap. 6. sect. 1. Spencer p. 36. This was common at Delphi. And there is, at least, one instance of a Pythia expiring under the violent convulsions of one of these fits. Plutarch. De Defec. Orac. and Lucan lib. v. ver. 17. Broughton's Dict. Article, Oracle. Origen. Contra Cels. lib. iii. says, "there are evident demonstrations of demons being present in their temples and statues, by their rendering oracles, by healing, by tormenting the superstitious." See also Dr. Henry More's Myst. of Iniquity, book i. ch. 7. And even Fontenelle's zeal against the supernatural origin of oracles, has not prevented him from admitting that this might occasionally be the case. Hist. of Orac. p. 43. There are striking specimens of this in the prophets of Baal; and in the cases of those "on whom there was an evil spirit from the Lord." "Ubicunque spiritus Domini malus dicitur," says father Augustine, "intelligitur diabolus esse; qui Domini dicitur esse propter ministerium, malus propter vitium dictus videtur." De Mirab. Script. Owen, Spir. vol. i. book ii. ch. 1. "The devil did predict future events, in the oracles," says the English Calvin, Perkins. And in this he supposes him to have been guided by his own insight into the sacred scriptures. In Daniel ch. xi. 3, for instance, there is a clear prediction respecting Alexander the Great. And it is certain, that the following oracle was given out from one of the shrines to Alexander, when setting forward in his war against Darius, the king of Persia. "*Alexander shall be a conqueror.*" See Perkin's curious and sober "*Treatise on Witchcrafte,*" works vol. iii. part 2. p. 617. folio, A. D. 1609. Peucer in his book "De Præcipuis Divin. generibus," refers oracles to the same origin. He reduces them to two classes. "First: those given forth from places inhabited by devils, *sonitu, tinnitu, gestu, vel nutu statuarum.*" "Second: those given forth by men moved by a diabolical spirit, accompanied by violent gestures and convulsions." See J. Templeri Idea Theol. Leviath. p. 329. The following are from Spencer, whom I have quoted so often. "Satan first excites such images in the fancies of these prophets, as may probably determine them to foretell many things which he conceives most likely to fall within the sphere of his activity; and then he accomplishes as many as he

can." "When Satan finds a mind fitted by this distemper for him to work upon, to make an imposture more fine and subtle, he may act it to some expressions, beyond the bare capacity of this juggling humour, as to speak languages; to tell things at a distance, as the certain coming of a friend; or an epileptic fit: the German prophetess Christina often did this last." p. 91 and 108. And Cudworth mentions out of the Asclepian dialogue a prediction of Asclepius respecting the fall of the Egyptian paganism: and another of Antoninus the philosopher, on the same subject. And Augustin remarks on the prediction, that it was "made instinctu falacis spiritus," by the suggestion of an evil spirit, who was lamenting the approaching downfall of the empire of darkness. Cudw. vol. i. book i. ch. 4. See learned notes of Grotius on "Somnia" and "Spectra," in his book De veritate, (pp. 78, 79.) lib. i. sect. 17.

A dissertation on this subject and the various phenomena connected with it, by a mind tutored by philosophy and theology, that can rise equally above the credulity and fanaticism of olden times, and the indolent and brainless scepticism of our times, is a desideratum in the literary world.

I shall never advocate the vulgar folly that floats in society, and peoples the world with phantoms, ghosts, witches, and what is worse than these, supports and countenances miserable impostors, under the title of "*witch doctors.*"

Yet every scholar would wish to see the subject taken up in a scriptural view; and discussed rigidly according to the principles of the Baconian philosophy. It is certain that there are spirits good and evil. It is certain that they communicate with each other. It is certain from scripture that they can operate on mind and on matter. It is certain from the gospel that malevolent spirits operate in the way of tormenting minds and bodies. And the pages of the classics contain instances of oracular predictions by evil demons, uttered by human lips. (Cudworth, vol. ii. book i. ch. 5.) Hence malevolent spirits communicate with mind. Heidan states that in Germany, during the confusions of the time of the Anabaptists of Munster, when they had all property in common, "puellas duas esse quæ revelabant omnia" when any of their members secreted any of their property, or did not give it fully up. Bodin. Mag. Demon. lib. iii. ad Templeri Idea Theol. Lev. p. 328. M'Knight, in his Harmony, Dissert. on Demons, adduces instances of similar predictions. Tacitus Annal. lib. ii. cap 54, states that the oracle of

Celaros predicted the untimely death of Germanicus. And, what is a still more remarkable phenomenon connected with this, we have decisive evidence that persons, illiterate and diseased, have uttered languages of which *they had no previous knowledge.* Psellius De Oper. Daem. states what he witnessed in a maniacal woman who knew nothing but her own language. When an Armenian came into the room she spoke the Armenian language readily and conversed with the stranger. Cudworth, vol. ii. ch. 5.* The learned physician Fernelius "de abditis rerum causis," states that his patient, a young nobleman, after being three months under his medical care, and labouring under a disease that baffled medicine, made exclamations in Greek and Latin, and uttered distinct sentences. He knew nothing of Greek previous to this. Cudw. do. M'Knight in his Harmony quotes some more instances to the same purpose. Melancthom writes that he had himself seen a person "nescientem legere" not even able to read, who yet spoke Greek and Latin. See Templeri Idea, ut supra. And the Quaker writer Barclay makes us familiar with the case of an illiterate member who by the Spirit discerned wrong translations from the Hebrew and Greek. Apol. Prop. iii. sect. 4 and 19.

* * * * By thus excluding theory and adducing facts for every thought advanced, we might attain to a rational view of the subject. * * * *

Note D.—Part II. Chap. IX.

John Toldervy was led, by a very natural process, to suppose that if the *inward light* was his *only* guide, it must have the supervision of his appetites, as well as of his moral conduct. If he was to give up his reason to its controul, then surely also his appetite, even in regard of the matter of eating and drinking. He refused to eat unless the inward *guide moved* him. And the voice of the appetite calling for food, was considered as the voice of the flesh or the evil will of man. In adhering to this principle he was subjected to severe fastings, and abstinence from sleep. He fasted, on a time, nearly two days. The *spirit* of his appetite rose in arms against this unreasonable treatment. But still the *inward guide* gave no signal of permission. What could John do? He could hold out no

* There is a case of a female in delirium uttering *words* of Greek and Latin. But it is ascertained that, when a child, she had been familiar with such *expressions and words.*

longer. He flew to the larder. He found none of his usual viands. But as the *evil one* would have it, there presented itself to his view "*a fine roast of beef.*" Here commenced a fierce combat between the "*Jewish spirits within him*" and the other spirit. The one charged him not to touch the beef, the other to eat the beef. John, refrain, was the war cry on the one side: exercise your grinders, good John, was the cry on the other. At length the *appetite* prevailed: and John did *lay to.* But dearly did he pay for thus wantonly "*denying his Lord and Master.*" (p. 29.) He had a terrible fit of the "*trembling*" of that age. And the stern chastising spirit turned the fine roast beef in him into a smart cathartic!! pp. 19, 29, of his book "*The foot out of the snare.*" Lond. edit. of 1656. See it in vol. No. 927, quarto Miscellanies in the Phil. Library.

END OF THE NOTES.

APPENDIX II.

CONTAINING A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED QUAKER WRITERS AND PREACHERS.

"Caput ferreum, nates plumbeæ, crumenæ que aureæ."
European College Proverb.

1. GEORGE FOX, SENR. His character is delineated in vol. ii. Though illiterate he dictated much. His Journal, written by Ellwood, was published in the year 1694: his epistles four years after: his doctrinal pieces, one hundred and fifty in number, were published in 1706. All except his Journal have sunk to their proper place, oblivion. He wrote books which Friends of the present day would not believe though they were told, such as "Saul's Errand to Damascus," "News coming up out of the North," *ancient editions*. His wife Margaret Fell Fox, was an eminent speaker in the society. There is a copious memoir of her extant.

2. *William Penn*, their most voluminous writer and gigantic defender. His tracts were collected and published in 1727, in two vols. folio, of about 800 pp. each. Enough has been said of him already. His "No cross no crown," is a decent moral thing; and has been justly the most popular of his works. I have already noticed the singular circumstance, that this volume was written in the Tower while lying under *a legal* charge of blasphemy. They who will read his "*Sandy foundation shaken*," will be able to judge of the relevancy of the charge. His life has been written by Clarkson: it is a dull and heartless piece, yet it is the best life we have of this great man.

3. *Robert Barclay* gave the Quakers the standard books, the Apology, their confessions of faith, their catechism. The character of the first has been detailed in Part I. The latter, expressed simply in the language of the Bible after the form of those of the Remonstrants, show what mischievous tenets may be advanced by misapplications of divine truths. Satan, we know, brandished texts against our Lord: but he was not right because he uttered texts of the sacred volume. His works were published in a folio volume, in London, in 1692: and afterwards in 3 vols. octavo, in 1718, un-

der this modest title: "*Truth triumphant, thro' the spiritual warfare and christian labours and writings of that able and faithful servant R. Barclay.*" It was an act of kindness to tell us by this title, for we had not otherwise known it, like the awkward painter who painted his bear so wide of the mark, and kindly added in letters below, "*this is the bear.*" Barclay was unquestionably a great man; and it is not our interest to diminish from his talents and real acquisitions. I hold him up in all his superiority as the great Quaker champion: and in doing so, I only raise higher the fame of that honest John Brown of Wamphry, whose rough and unseemly broad axe, Quakers, and that uninformed writer in Brewster's Encyclop. (article Barclay,) love to traduce. I appeal to the towns and cities, and country parishes of Scotland, where the two heroes entered the fierce combat, and fought. I appeal to existing facts. Brown, *and some few more of us,* drove him out of Scotland.

A short account of R. Barclay was published in Philadelphia, in 1805. Coming from head quarters it is a little too partial, and our John Brown is treated somewhat uncivilly; but that we can let pass. It comes, I say, from *head quarters.* It is a memoir really of great merit; it sets the character of that amiable and distinguished man in a very fair light. No man who knew the *private* character of Barclay would permit a whisper against it. Laird Thomas, and even John Brown, never would permit a surmise against his private *character and morals.* Their philippics were poured forth against "*the monstrous system*" only.

4. *Isaac Pennington* was a gentleman of "fine estate;" of an amiable mind, and polished manners. He was nearly related to the Penn family. His works were published in two vols. quarto, under this lugubrious title: "the works of the long mournful and sore distressed Isaac Pennington." The second edition, London, in 1761, (No. 166 quarto, Phil. Library,) in all containing 1393 quarto pp. There are copies also of them in folio, and in octavo. He has few controversial pieces: and those few are conducted with moderation and charity. His talent does not lie in argument. He is plain, simple, shallow, and often descends to puerilities. He is verbose, and attacks us with that unmerciful length of sentences which causes a retreat sooner than any argument advanced. His works are in greater request, or at least, I think they are more read than the folios of Penn, by the society. In his doctrines, with the

exceptions of diverse sentences, which squint towards orthodoxy, he is completely at one with Penn. On the Trinity he is a Unitarian, vol. i. p. 264. On justification he is a deep mystic, vol. i. p. 607. On the scriptures his theory is deistical. See his tract "Some things relating to religion."

5. *Edward Burroughs* was an *immediate* convert of Fox. In his manner of preaching and writing he was violent, sometimes furious and indecent. His attack on good John Bunyan is a specimen of his unjustifiable virulence and falsehood. See p. 136 of his works. He professed to write by immediate inspirations, and he sent them forth with "blood and thunder." "The word of the Lord came unto me saying," is a sample in his terrible book with a terrible name, *videlicet*.—"A trumpet of the Lord, or fearful voices of terrible thunders, dictated and written by a son of thunder." His works were collected and published in A. D. 1672, in folio, 896 pp. It does contain a marvellous display of mysticism, and badinage, and solemnity, and curses, and prophecy! [See No. 251, Phil. Library, folio.] Those modest Friends who set forth his works give us this character of him. "*In E. Burroughs the fulness of grace and virtue dwelt.*" He died in A. D. 1663.

6. *G. Whitehead.* He was one of their most popular preachers and boldest champions. He possessed a vigorous mind, but he was extremely illiterate. As a polemic he was stubborn and disingenuous. He was resolute to throw down the gauntlet, and no less so to take it up. Determined to have the victory, he often lost sight of the great aim of every true polemic, and stooped to trick, and craft, and misrepresentation. See his narrative of his dispute with Scandret: and this author's epistle to the reader prefixed to his "*Antidote against Quakerism.*" He is a bulky writer. But I do not find that his works have been collected. His "*Divinity of Christ,*" is perhaps the best known. In this book on our Lord's "*Divinity,*" he puts forth his virulence against his divinity, and personality, and atonement. See pp. 62, 63, &c.

7. "*The doctrinal works of the Quakers.*" London, folio. No. 250. Phil. Library. This is a heavy mass compiled from their writers and speakers. It presents the Quaker system under the *first* and *second* periods. The Unitarian tenets are merged in its mysticism, and yet it is purged of some of the most nauseating compositions of the first period. "*Saul's errand to Damascus*" is left out of Fox's share of the volume, as Leslie actually foretold that it would be. This

volume is, peradventure, the most unmerciful volume that ever was hurled from the leaden throne of dulness. I can speak feelingly on this matter. Its soporific influence is absolutely irresistible!

8. *Francis Howgill* was one of the writers of the first period, and one of those worthies who travelled from "*steeple house to steeple house*" to interrupt, on the spot, the propagation of priestly error, and *external* worship. He copied closely after Fox. His works were reprinted in a folio of 740 pp. in 1676, under this title, "*Dawnings of the gospel day.*" He has throughout, with his compatriots, that loose, rambling, heartless way, into which men naturally sink who pour forth in extemporaneous declamations infinitely more than they ever thought upon or digested. The piece which chiefly, for a while, attracted the public notice, was his able discussion on "*Tithes.*" It was admired as a learned thing from a Quaker. But, unfortunately, he fell into the hands of Leslie, who proved it to be a plagiarism from Selden. Being of the first period, he is more of a mystic than a Unitarian. As a proof, this fanatic actually advocates the "*unity and equality of the human soul with God!*" See p. 232 of his works.

9. *Thomas Ellwood* was an industrious and on the whole a pretty respectable writer. He wrote Fox's Journal; Sacred History, &c. His style is affected, and quaint, and turgid. His character of Fox is a specimen. See Mosh. vol. v. chap. 4. cent. 17. sect. 2, part ii. and in Fox's Jour. vol. i. p. 79. But the most striking thing about it, is that eternal verbiage and length of periods that exhaust our patience, and lacerate the nerves. And as if this had not been enough, he has persecuted the world with his own life, in an octavo vol. of 505 pp. About sixty pages of which detail his conversion to the Friends' doctrines, and his refusing filial reverence in uncovering his head before his father: his "whirrets on the ear:" his resolution in still covering his head: his again coming before his father with "*his mountier cap*" on, when his hats had been taken from him: his successful elopement: the pursuit of him by his aged father: his reception with the Friends. Then through 63 *octavo pages* he details his adventures, befitting such a runaway, in Bridewell and Newgate: his sufferings and those of his companions; the severest of which was that of one of them put under the *strappado* for "*cobbling shoes on the Sabbath day.*" See his life passim. And farther particulars of this unnatural son toward his father in Bugg. Pict. of Quak. p. 240.

10. *Wyeth.* He had been a labouring man, but his talents were respectable for one in his humble station. He had a facility of expressing himself in a plain way. He wrote "*anguis flagellatus, or a switch for the Snake*" (of Leslie.) He was not a David to encounter this Goliah. He and Whitehead (and it is marvellous,) were reduced to silence by Leslie. See the conference between the Vind. of the bishop of Litchfield, and the author of the second letter to the bishop (who apologized for their silence.) The society, however, took ample vengeance by a gratuitous distribution of *ten thousand copies* of Wyeth, and a declaration in their meetings "*that the Snake was fully answered.*" The good natured people believed it on this statement. For as Leslie was not in the *Index* none of their members were permitted to judge for themselves. Because the young, or even senior Friends, are not permitted to read or examine our books for themselves. If they are, let us see the fact.

11. *Samuel Fisher* was a priest of the church of England, and had, of course, received a liberal education. He yielded to his scruples respecting infant baptism; resigned his living worth *l*200 sterl. per annnum, and united himself to the Baptist church. But he had yielded also to the imposing dreams of mysticism, hence the necessary effects of the declamations of the early Friends over his mind. William Penn tells us that he had often been "refreshed by his tracts; and that he admired his self-denial and humility." If this eminent man had not told us this, we never could have discovered his claims to these virtues. That he was a man of humility it may be, but it is certain that he claimed for his sect the exclusive honours of being the only children of wisdom, *the only people of whom wisdom is justified as of her children.* See his "*Lux Christi,*" sect. 2. Phil. edit. of A. D. 1744.* And in writing this "*Lux Christi,*" it was enough for him that he had pleased God, &c. sect. 35. That he was an humble and self-denied man may be. But in his "Rusticus ad Academicos," which he wrote against Dr. Owen, in the defence of the doctrine and practice of "*Quaking,*" he tells the doctor that he "*was a blind guide and a brute beast, for speaking against it.*" See exercit. 2. p. 18.

Besides these works, which contain a rambling defence of mystic tenets, of which Dr. Owen and Mr. Baxter took no notice, he wrote *Episcopus aposcopos* against bishop Gauden, which is equally full of those rustic indecencies, which his disappointed and irrita-

* In the Athen. Lib. Phil. vol. 16, Pamph. No. 10.

ted mind poured out, instead of logical arguments. His "*Lux Christi*" is the best known. An edition was published by Mr. James in Philadelphia, in A. D. 1787. It is in tolerable modern Latin: but it is blustering and incoherent. He collects some select texts on *light*, and applies them all to the inward light. Sect. 2, 3, 4, 5. He makes their inward Christ, and the image of Christ, and the Christ in glory, all one, and all the three are *the law*. "Legis, i. e. lucis Dei in conscientia." Sect. 8, 9, 10, 16, 26. He wrote by immediate revelation. Sect. 32. He closes by a terrible anathema against those who shall disbelieve him. Sect. 35.

12. *Hubberthorn.* He wrote some fugitive pieces. His *Truth's Defence* is the best known. He was a bold and persevering man. In his mode of conducting and closing a dispute, we see in him the *coup-de-main* of the Friends in primitive times. They offered no miracles to support their spiritual pretensions. But they gave forth many words, and closed with, "you are now answered from the mouth of the Lord." See his works, p. 89, and Bugg's Pict. p. 129.

13. *Edward Billing*, a man of warm and enthusiastic feelings, and much given to rant. He wrote "reproof to his fellow-soldiers." His sentiments exhibit the orthodoxy of the first period. "Their (the Quakers') sufferings and wounds, were the wounds which the Lord of life received." See his book published in A. D. 1659, also Bugg. p. 361.

14. *R. Farnworth* had been a domestic in the family of Mr. Lord. He possessed some energy, but was illiterate. He was first seduced by the writings of Saltmarsh, and imbibed the tenets of familism. He entertained a great contempt for all external institutions and worship. He commenced his career of preaching over the kingdom about the time of Fox's first appearing. They met and coalesced. He wrote several books. "They are," says a cotemporary,* "much admired by the Quakers." And it requires but a momentary glance at them to see the truth of Stalham's other remark, "that they exhibit malice more than human against Christ's institutions and ambassadors." See his book against Stalham, and Stalham's "Reviler Rebuked."

15. *Dennis Hollister.* He wrote "The skirts of the whore discovered." He was a plain, blundering man, who hastened to teach others before he had himself been illumined.

* Stalham.

16. *Thomas Lawson.* He was a man of education and had been in holy orders. He had been a priest of the church of England. But had studied the Behmens and the Averas, and the Cressys, more than the homilies and canons of his church. He became a convert under Fox. He was a voluminous writer in the first period. He wrote "The untaught teacher;" "The lip of wisdom opened;" "On the seven liberal arts." His manner is quaint and tedious, and verbose. Like the rest of the writers of the first period, he never masters his subject; never lays it down in well selected terms; but in the indecisive and rambling manner of a youthful composer, he seems to make his ideas follow his words, or adapt themselves to them. His works are now little known.

17. *James Naylor.* He had been a captain in the army: but in his conversion became a zealous preacher. His best known piece is "*Love to the lost.*" We have said enough of this unhappy man already, (see part i. sect. 17.) Neal states that he was supposed to have the features usually given by painters to Jesus Christ. And this, it is probable, helped on the work of depravity in this fanatic's accepting divine homage, and in the deluded females of Bristol offering it to him. I have seen an engraving of him, executed in England, about the time of his crime and his cruel punishment. He certainly had nothing of a Jew's feature, if that likeness be correct. His face was long and withered; his chin of unusual length; his eyes small and hollow, and his head covered with a beaver, having a brim of unusual breadth.

18. *John Toldervy.* This singular fanatic has been noticed already, (part i. sect. 17, &c.) He lived and died in the society. It is probable that he atoned for his extravagance, though it does not appear that the society had been very severe on him. All, however, admitted that he "*had run out from the seed in him;*" but still, he had "*the seed in him.*" He wrote "*The foot out of the snare.*" See this singular piece in Phil. Libr. vol. of Miscel. No. 927, quarto. James Naylor wrote, and none more fit than he to write, "Foot still in the snare." John replied, made confessions, and some acknowledgments: he never denied any of the facts stated in his book. And so John was never cast out, he was not even suspended, so far as I can discover, until he gave proofs of penitence.

19. *T. Gilpin* of Kendal. When converted to the society he had, it seems, his full share, and he thought, rather more than his share, of the tremblings of body so common in that day. His quiverings,

and shudderings, and tremblings, and convulsions, issuing in deep and oppressive groans, attracted the public attention in no common degree. They made a bruit over the kingdom. He wrote "*The Quakers Shaken.*" A second edition appeared in A. D. 1655, giving a minute account of his *bodily dealings;* and of the *possession and actings* of I. Milner. The book was attested by the mayor of the city of Kendal. I have not been able to procure a copy of this book. I have seen only a brief analysis of it by a writer of 1678. It exhibits a modern case of demoniacal possession.

20. *George Fox, Junior.* He was not a relative of the founder. In his sentiments and style he was his correct imitator. He was a thorough mystic. He was taken away at an early stage of the first period. His works were re-printed in 1665. His "*Words of the eternal and true light*" is the most remarkable collection. He bestows every attribute of the divine nature on "*The light within.*" See also Bugg's Pict. p. 58, Part I.

21. *Josiah Coal.* He was a man of keen sensibility and ungovernable passions. In his preaching and writings he gave full sway to them, and mistook the ebullitions of passion for divine inspirations. His besetting sin was his propensity to ban. Without stopping to reason the point he would send his antagonist to Tartarus. His works form a pretty large volume. The most noted seems to be "The whore unveiled." An antagonist of G. Fox had treated his revelations rather cavalierly. The following is a specimen of Josiah's ban. "In the name of that God that spans the heavens, I bind thee on earth; and thou art bound in heaven: and in chains under darkness to the judgment of the great day thou shalt be reserved." See his works p. 243, 244. See also Bugg's Pict. p. 65. He had entered the arena with the notorious Muggleton. [This singular man erred with the seceding Quakers, simply in carrying out into their utmost stretch the leading tenet of the sect, in a manner perfectly natural.] Muggleton having like Josiah, lost his temper, resorted to the club logic of banning. He thundered forth his bull, and sent him to Tartarus. And as a proof that his sentence would bind him, he assured him that he would always be in "*A terror of damnation.*" Like Pope against Pope, Josiah sent forth his fulmination, in the words above. On his death bed Josiah, for some motive or other, probably from no higher motive than that which prompts the school boy, in the hour of darkness, and in the solitary way, "to whistle aloud, to bear his courage up;" having called to

mind Muggleton and his ban, raised himself up, and thus spoke with his remaining strength: "Thou, Muggleton, art a son of darkness; a co-worker with the prince of the bottomless pit, in which shall be thy inheritance forever." And then closed with binding on him again the chains of darkness! See Tompkin's "*Piety promoted*," p. 44.

22. *Stephen Crisp* was an able and fluent speaker in the society. His volume of sermons, to each of which is attached the prayer which he made at the close of each, do really great credit to his head, and to his heart. Mixed, it is true, with much alloy, there is much precious metal. He had a wild native eloquence which must have had great effect. Honest Stephen, it is said, did not stand very high in the good opinion of the society. It was whispered that his failings leaned toward the fair sisters. But it is certain that nothing was established against him. And his enemies did not want the inclination to go all lengths. He ought to be, therefore, deemed an innocent man. See Bugg's Pict. p. 115. His sermons were re-printed in a neat octavo of 386 pp. by Mr. James of Phil. A. D. 1787.

23. *W. Smith* wrote the "Quakers' primer and catechism." In this he brought forth the mystic doctrines with great virulence: and he shows an almost superhuman malice against the doctrines, and institutions, and servants of Jesus Christ.

24. *W. Simpson* stood in the front lines of their champions. "The relation of his life and death" is what remains of him. It was revived by the society, and recommended in their catalogue of 1708. In p. 10, they have thus embalmed his memory. "God has sent his servants endued with a divine spirit and power; whose integrity and innocency, have appeared in the likeness and image of Almighty God." See also Bugg. p. 154. He whom they thus have canonized, was the man who acted the Lupercus, and continued, during three years, to make his naked processions through the streets. [See part i. sect. 21.]

25. *W. Erbury* wrote "A call to the churches." His style is plain: his whole manner artless and illiterate. He thinks he was a forerunner to the Friends, as John was to Christ. See his book, and also his Reviewer, Stalham, Epist. to the reader. Moreover, he thinks, that Christ taught only that small part of the gospel which was peculiar to the Jews: that the gospel which the apostles preached, was not that which they wrote. Then he proses

about the *light within:* that God dwells as much in them, and in the same manner as in Christ: that in regard to the divine ordinances we have not so much as scripture for any of them: that the coming of Christ mentioned by the angels, at Christ's ascension, (Acts ii. 11.) is his coming in the spirit and power in the saints *in their flesh*, when confused and dark. See his Call, pp. 4, 6, 9, 19, 37, &c. and Stalham, ut supra. He was, therefore, a thorough mystic of the first period.

26 *John Audland* was a speaker of some boldness. His mind was rustic and illiterate to a shocking degree. His letter to Fox made a great noise in the world. In this letter, he permitted his filial admiration to run out into the impassioned language *of prayer and adoration.* (See part i. sect. 8.) This letter was procured and published by Leslie, in the mode in which it was spelled. Its authenticity was established by his friends in the town where he lived and died. And it deserves notice, that it is published in the second edition of "The Snake," sect. 8, which was reviewed by G. Whitehead, and *he has not produced a single false quotation.* See his answer to the Snake given forth about A. D. 1697.

27. *Nicholas Lucas.* His furious zeal for the "light" has carried him into deism.

28. *Nicholas Lilburn.* He writes on the "Resurrection;" which, on inspection, turns out to be *on his own conversion.* This is a fair specimen. "Happening to meet some of the precious people called Quakers, *and getting into my hands two of their volumes of about 1700 pp. I have—been knocked down off, or from my former legs, or standing*—and sent to the true teacher, the light within. A thing not to be deemed over marvellous; or by any means incredible. For if the reviewing of a single government fast day sermon produced such a deep sleep over the intellectual powers, and the natural senses of even an Edinburgh Reviewer, is it a matter of surprise, that 1700 folio pages should "*knock down any man off, or from his legs, or standing!*"

Hoc nec caput ferreum, nec nates plumbeæ ferre possint!

29. *Patrick Livingston* wrote "Downright dealing," a remarkable production, in which he puts forth all his strength in defence of the "Trembling and quaking" of the first and second periods. See a specimen in p. 10, and in "Snake, &c." sect. 21.

30. *James Parnel*, though a youth, was "*a powerful minister of*

the gospel." Sewel, vol. i. p. 130. He possessed some talents and was not without some literature, though his works do not show it. He wrote "*The trumpet of the Lord sounded, or a blast against pride.*" Considering the audiences he addressed, and those to whom he wrote, this would seem to be as ill-timed as the sermon of the clergyman in Galloway (Scotland,) which was a philippic against the pride and luxury of the age, delivered to a rustic audience, of whom the greater half had neither shoes nor stockings! But this reforming Quaker carried matters too far. We allow them to declaim, until they are as hoarse as a Roman crier: but they should not send us to the pit for our coats, and buttons, and speech. "Wo to you that are called Sir, Mr. and Madam, and Mistress. To hell you must go, and lie there for ever and ever: given forth by the spirit of the Lord through his servant James Parnel." p. 28, and Bugg. p. 61. Judge Hill committed this young man to prison under a charge of blasphemy. He gravely observed to the judge, "*thou hast persecuted Christ, and hast set at liberty Barabbas.*" Bugg. p. 115. The persecution and cruelty sustained by this youth, have left a stamp of infamy on the priesthood and magistracy of that age, that excite our deepest abhorrence and detestation! If a man is deemed erroneous, outreason him; if he be extravagant in his sallies, apply the caustic of satire. But to persecute, and harass, and murder by imprisonment in such a dungeon as that in which poor young Parnel languished out his life, Oh! it was most unchristian—and most inhuman!

31. *Charles Atkinson* wrote "The sword of the Lord drawn." The design was to cut down the ministry, the churches, and the nations. He was an empty headed and conceited man. He was justly expelled from the society for immorality. See "Snake," &c. sect. 6.

32. *W. Shawen* was an eminent preacher of the second period. He wrote "A treatise on thoughts and imaginations." This is a specimen: he is drawing the character of the Friends: "they are meeker than Moses; stronger than Sampson; wiser than Solomon; more patient than Job, &c." p. 25. edit. of A. D. 1685.

33. "*Some principles of the Quakers,*" A. D. 1693. This volume reminds me of the famous Monday, after the sacrament sermons in Scotland, the professed object of which is to "*redd up the marches.*" It is not to edify, but to run down, as fair game, every sect on the field. The polite author of Barclay's life (Phil. edit. of

A. D. 1805.) has, in p. 121, given us rather an unfavourable specimen of our good old John Brown of Wamphry. His epistle dedicatory or prefatory, as well as the epistle *ad calcem*, are, I admit, somewhat ferocious. But I am tempted to give, by way of courtesy, a specimen from this volume, which is of a later date than Brown's. The Friends call their antagonists "conjurers," thieves," "robbers," "antichrists," "witches," "devils," "scarlet-coloured beasts," "blood-hounds gaping like the mouth of hell," "lizards," "moles," "tinkers," "green headed trumpeters," "wheel-barrows," "gim-cracks," whirlpools," "whirligigs," "moon calfs," "tatterdemalions," "serpents," "vipers," "ministers of the devil," "bears," "devils incarnate." See in "Snake," sect. 17. And if they touch a hair of old Wamphry's beard, they may have more, even from the pages of William Penn himself.

34. *Henry Pickworth.* He had been an eminent speaker and a popular writer. His works were revived and recommended in Whiting's catalogue, p. 132. edit. of A. D. 1708. There is an important item in his brief history. When Bugg was in the triumphant career of Quaker refutation, Pickworth challenged him to a public debate. He retired apparently overwhelmed and confused. The magistrates and people, in whose presence the debate was conducted, rose, *en masse*, and carrying to the market place all the Quaker books which could be discovered, they consumed them as pestilential and heretical. The aged veteran having published a narrative of this, Pickworth applied himself to the refutation. He made an extensive collection of Quaker books, in order that he might have every facility in detecting Bugg's misquoted passages. This constrained him to examine their books more minutely than he ever had done. His eyes were opened to the nakedness and deformity of the system. He was fully convinced of their deep error and heresy; publicly renounced them; took his stand by the venerable Bugg, and wrote a pathetic appeal to the parliament on the erroneous system of Quakerism. See his paper of nineteen charges presented to Parl. A. D. 1714, also Bugg, part vii. 256.

35. —— Story's Journal (No. 111, folio,) and his "Discourses," No. 412, octavo, Phil. Library. They display a plain and benevolent mind; but a mind without talent, and without the cultivation of letters. They are dull and heartless productions.

35. *John Perrot* was one of the leading seceding Quakers, who claimed the honours of being the true church. He had suffered

imprisonment in the city of Rome, whither his zeal had carried him, and by some means or other escaped, to create trouble in the society. He wrote the history of his sufferings, under this title, which shows us at once the man and the mind; "The wren in the burning bush waving her wings of contraction." When he delivered epistles to the males, he subscribed himself "John," when to the females, "your tender *sister* John." Yet sixty-seven against sixty-six in the grand Quaker schism, stood up for this man. William Penn thus gravely writes of him, "*That if he had been as faithful as his companions, he might have been hanged at Rome (as we are informed) to his own comfort, the truth's honour, and the church's peace.*" Vol. ii. p. 203.

37. *I. Muckalow* was another of the seceding Friends. He wrote "*The spirit of the hat.*" This book is a severe one. It details more of the scenes behind the curtain than any other of that period. It details "The violence offered in the assemblies," "The pulling down and the hailings forth." "We went to the utmost as far as our power reached." p. 29, &c. Penn makes rather a silly defence. See vol. ii. p. 193.

38, 39, 40. *John Field, B. Coole, I. Whiting.* They wrote against Keith, but with little effect.

41. —— *Tompkins* wrote "Piety promoted," a collection of the dying sayings of Quakers. Dubl. A. D. 1721. No. 438, duod. Phil. Library. I was much pleased with a perusal of this book. The reader will be sensibly touched by the affecting cases of pious youth. He will also be struck with this fact, that there is not an instance of a leading member or preacher confessing a single sin, or bewailing a single delinquency, or professing any contrition under the hand of a holy and pure God. And he will be more sensibly struck when he discovers that it is not an oversight, but a strict acting up to principle. [See part ii. ch. ii. sect. 2.]

42. *Joseph Pike* of the city of Cork, Ireland, was an eminent and sensible Quaker writer. His best known piece is "A treatise on baptism and the Lord's supper." Lond. A. D. 1703. Like Fuller's, it is a distant echo of Barclay on those subjects. Yet he brings forward, in a very pleasing style, all that they can say against these divine ordinances. He also makes a respectable attempt to reply to the objections brought against their theory, by Bennet and some others. He is plain and unaffected. He has avoided that disgusting cant, and the style of cursing and banning so characteristic of the first and second periods.

43. —— *Hook's* "Spirit of the martyrs revived." A. D. 1719. It details in a plain style, many painful facts of the sufferings of the Quakers, and it delineates much of the manners of that iron age. See No. 737, octavo, Phil. Libr.

44. *Chandler's* "Apology for the Quakers." A. D. 1727. Of the last period in its tenets. A dull and heartless performance.

45. *Beven's* "Defence of Robert Barclay." Dubl. A. D. 1727. The cause of Quakerism must have been triumphant in Ireland in that day, when such a sixpenny champion could hold up Barclay's wounded head. A Mr. Bevan had his "*Vindication*" published in A. D. 1800.

46. *Samuel Fuller* wrote with a spirit nearly as fierce and uncharitable, as that which stalked over the land during the commonwealth, and the times of Charles II. and James II. His book is called "Answer to twelve sections of abusive queries." Dubl. 1728. He has nothing new nor forcible. He is a distant echo of Barclay. He puts forth but comparatively few of the tenets of mysticism and of Unitarianism. He is a thorough Pelagian and Armenian. No. 909, octavo, Phil. Libr.

47. *Sewel* is, perhaps, the best known historian of Quakerism next to Penn. It is well known that he was not a man of letters. And he has much of the besetting sin of the Quaker writers, in point of style and manner. His manner is chiefly after that of Penn and Ellwood. If we can only bear with his tediousness, and the partiality which each has for his own; and the quaintness of manner; and that vexatious long windedness of sentence; we shall find some amusement, and a considerable share of information. A good edition of his history was published at Phil. A. D. 1811, in 2 vols. octavo.

48. *Besse.* "A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers," from A. D. 1650 to 1689, two volumes folio, pp. 1405. See No. 270, folio, Phil. Library. These volumes contain some valuable memorials and authentic statements. They contain a collection from those immense volumes belonging to the yearly meeting, under which their shelves groan; and in which are recorded, or rather piled up, those papers which are delivered by the monthly and quarterly meetings in Britain and Ireland; which have been in the habit of making out regular returns of the sufferings of the Friends in their respective departments. But they are jumbled together without any proper selection. Had the trifling incidents,

and the minute details of the most insipid stuff been rejected, these folios had dwindled down to a tolerable quarto. The chief thing to recommend them is fine black ink, good paper and print.

49. *John Rutty* writes "The rise and progress of the Quakers in Ireland," a quarto vol. pp. 484. This history details the events of the society from the year 1653 to 1751. The only thing passable in the book is the Introduction. The body of the book forms a bundle of dry anecdotes, with not so much a history, as a fulsome encomium on each of the Friends who planted and watered Quakerism in Ireland, as if they could have sustained the glory of being set up beside the prophets and apostles! See No. 196, quarto, Phil. Library.

50. *Gough* wrote "The history of the people called Quakers, &c." Dubl. A. D. 1790, 4 vols. octavo. The author is a plain and amiable man: but without letters and without taste. He has gleaned his materials from Sewel, Besse, and a MS. of S. Smith. In his preface he betrays the impossibility of his being impartial. He blames writers who consult those who wrote on the other side of the question. Nothing will satisfy honest John Gough, but the copying of their own statements, and the giving of no credit to any but themselves. He can discover no difference between writing of their society, and writing against them. He very gravely tells us, that he has discovered no change in the body of the Friends in point of sentiment or manners, or principles or mode of preaching. Vol. iii. p. 325. The two points of which he gives the most lame and defective account are the Keithian controversy. He does not bring into view the true subject of the dispute; namely, whether Christ is really in heaven *without*, in glorified human nature. This is the garbled account which I have read. See vol. iii. 328, &c. The other point is the capture of the sloop, *vi et armis*, of the Quakers. He wriggles and twists in no ordinary degree. But the motions are natural, for he feels sore. Vol. iii. 341. His volumes are written in a plain and clear style; yet has that luscious fullness and that tedious minuteness on mere trifles, which is the besetting sin of Quaker authors and preachers. He brings down the history of the society to A. D. 1764. Each volume has a small index, and they neatly printed. No. 1922 octavo, Phil. Library.

51. *S. Fothergill.* "Life and travels in the ministry." He was greatly respected by all who knew his private worth. His productions were shallow and often puerile. No. 479 duod. Phil. Lib. He died in A. D. 1773.

52. *A. Bennezet.* "A short account of the Quakers, and their settlement in America." Phil. pp. 44. edit. 2. The most remarkable thing about this book is, that it has seen a second edition. It has no claims to the title it has assumed. It contains the meagre gleanings of a man, amiable it is true, but superficially acquainted with his subject. The most striking of his *fanfarades* are those about liberty, and about war. Like other Quaker authors, he very unfortunately does not touch the question. See p. 9, 10, &c.

53. *Antony Purver* was a man born of humble parents, but of singular powers of mind. Though compelled to labour in an humble sphere, he found time to pursue his studies. And such was the application of this wonderful man; that, notwithstanding all the untoward circumstances in his lot, he mastered the Hebrew and Greek languages. In 1764, he completed his new translation of the Old and New Testaments from the original languages. It was published in 2 vols. folio. It is said to possess great simplicity and is remarkably literal. He was greatly respected: and justly stood very high as a preacher in the society. He died, much lamented, in 1777.

54. *Mrs. Sophia Hume.* "Exhortation to the inhabitants of Carolina." A. D. 1747. She was an amiable and highly accomplished lady. But she committed an egregious error in taking up polemical theology; and in becoming a teacher of men.

55. *John Woolman's* "Works." The repose of this book will not be disturbed.

56. *Catharine Philips's* "Journal."

57. *Sarah Grubb's* "Journal."

58. *Margaret Lucas's* "Journal."

59. *John Gratton's* "Journal."

60. *Job Scott's* "Journal." This is the journal of a person of respectable talents. Job seems to have revived in a considerable degree, the mysticism and Unitarianism of the 1st and 2d periods.

61. *Mrs. Harrison* of Philadelphia, was a very worthy lady. She seems to have set down, as her model, the venerable mothers of her sect, such as Dame Margaret Fell, Dame C. Barclay, Hannah Bernard, Mary Fisher, E. Bathurst, Anne Wright. Like these she laboured and travelled from shore to shore; and with a zeal becoming a nobler and better cause.

62. *Mr. Waring*, a man of quiet and retired habits, but a profound philosopher. He died A. D. 1793. Miller's Retrosp. vol. i, 43.

63. *John Griffith's* "Journal." He was a plain and honest man: simple and mild in his manners: illiterate and much infected with enthusiasm. In his peregrinations, he was "often moved to testify against undue liberties." He needed no information. He knew all worth knowing about his audience, though a stranger to them. "Right spirited ministers have an *infallible guide within*," said John, "and have no need of any *outward guide* or information in their services." Jour. p. 189. See Rathbone, p. 70. This is about as fair a specimen of their Journals as I can find.

64. *Rathbone*, formerly, was an eminent member of the society. He shows himself to be a man of genteel manners and cultivated mind. There is an air of uncommon frankness and candour in all that he says. He wrote "A narrative of events in Ireland from A. D. 1791 to 1803." Himself and his book are visible and striking proofs of the tendency of the first grand tenet of the society, immediate revelations, as advocated by Barclay. By undervaluing the sacred word of God, it leads to deism. Yet such is the state of Quakerism in Ireland, that there exists no evidence that Rathbone would have been ejected from the society for his tenets, had he not written this book containing such plain, blunt tales of their management behind the curtain.

65. *Bristed.* "The society of Friends, or Quakers, examined." Lond. 1805. This trifling and lumpish book has been noticed already. Part i. sect. 31.

66. *Clarkson's* "Portrait of Quakerism." Lond. and Phil. 3 vols. It is a hurried and very unfinished production both as to matter and manner. He has paid no respect to the true opinions of the sect, as laid down in the volumes of their ancients; and which always must be the test of orthodoxy, as long as they venerate their claims (as they do) to divine inspiration. He gives us the uncertain gleanings of his conversations with the Friends. He is a dull and heartless writer: and yet with all its defects, the Friends seem willing that it should become popular. I would recommend it as giving the best portrait of their civil polity, and of their manners. But its delineations of their theological opinions, or of the religious character of the society are extremely meagre and unfair.

67. *Tuke* wrote "The principles of the Quakers." See Christ. Observer, July 1814, &c. &c.

68. *Richard Mott*, a distinguished and popular preacher.

69. *Elias Hicks*, a preacher equally popular, if not superior. The

following extract from the Chester Plough Boy and Sat. Even. Post of Jan. 1, 1823, of a sermon of Mr. Hicks's, will afford a specimen of the sentiments of their present ministry. "Children have all one religion, and if suffered to grow up together, without having any of the doctrines of men instilled into them, there would be but one religion in the world."* "The kingdom of heaven is within you; and if you find it not there, before death, you will hereafter look for it in vain. Heaven is the sure and natural result of acting up to the dictates of *that God* in man. Hell is the torment experienced in our souls consequent on the transgression of these dictates." He "preaches no mysteries." "What advantage can it be to any one, to believe in what he cannot understand." "The christian religion involves no mysteries, &c."

This last sentiment, equally repugnant to holy writ, and to the first principles of reason and philosophy, is an awkward but desperately feeble hit at the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity, which Penn and his equally misguided followers have wantonly dared to exclude from their system. If it be of no *advantage to believe what we cannot understand*, then is it of no advantage to believe in the *being of the Deity*. For *He*, as well as *the manner* of his existence in Trinity, is infinitely removed beyond our finite understanding. But honest Elias is no philosopher, no chemist, no theologian; and men of his venerable years are, every where, privileged characters!

"Ὁ λογος φαρμακον λυπης; και ἡ πολυλογια γηρατος."

"Speaking is the solace of grief—and garrulity that of old age."

He has been severely and justly blamed of late for the stern heterodoxy of his sentiments. Some of his friends have quoted an obscure author, a cotemporary of George Fox, *William Bailey* by name, to prove that *Elias* has been no innovator in first principles. His friends have been guilty of a double fault in doing this. They have disturbed the peaceful sleep of the dead. Bailey had been entombed in oblivion. Why did they stir the dust which covered him? In quoting this man, moreover, they have hurt their cause. The very quotation makes *the Light, and the Spirit, and Jesus one and the same*. And thus, by confounding, or denying the distinct

* We shall hear of some philosopher proposing to shut up children by themselves to ascertain the true primitive language. But he must not permit any *goats* to have access to them to suckle them.

persons of the most holy and adorable Trinity, they make themselves witnesses that *Elias Hicks* is, like his predecessors, Sabellian or Unitarian!*

70. *Priscilla Hunt*, a female preacher, who has lately come on the boards; and has attracted much public attention. In the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, of A. D. 1823, she advocated in all their extent, the sentiments of Elias Hicks. The applause, and the rich donations which she received, fully prove the popularity of these doctrines in the society of Friends.

I shall conclude with a brief review of the two latest writers, and of the present state of the controversy.

1. "Letters of Paul and Amicus," octavo, pp. 512, Wilmington. This volume contains letters first published in the Christian Repository. "Paul," a zealous and able advocate of the doctrines of the Reformed churches, came out against the Quakers. His chief design, according to his own statement, was not to give a systematic defence of the doctrines of the Reformed churches, but to draw off the veil from the real doctrines held by the society of Friends, and to expose them to the view of the Christian public. In this aim, he has succeeded completely.

"Amicus," a Friend of the Foxonian period, and well skilled in the peculiar doctrines of that time, came forward to explain and to refute. Like "Paul" he came *en masque*. And the dispute was carried on vigorously for twenty-one months!

It must be admitted, that serious inconveniences will result from the disputes of polemics *en masque*. One very obvious one is this: when heated they will become personal, rude and scurrilous. Having only anonymous characters to lose, they will not permit public opinion to have its due influence in checking their uncourteous sallies.

But I mean something more than even this, when I say that "Amicus" comes out *en masque*. He does not, and he will not bring out the real doctrines of the society, until he is dared, and pushed, and heated. At length, he does come out; and *without mask*.

"Paul" is somewhat feeble on baptism. But on every other point he defends and refutes very successfully. And he goads on "Amicus" till he has *confessed all the system of the Friends*.

* See Bailey's book entitled, "*A common objection answered about the name of Jesus.*" Old edition.

It is the fullest disclosure which we have in the modern times of the society; it is a full length portrait of the genuine Quakerism of the old school; it exhibits the correctness of every charge which I have brought against them out of their books. And if the society adhere to Fox, and Penn and Barclay; if, in fact, the modern Friends hold to the testimony of their ancient elders, they must acknowledge the doctrines of "Amicus" as *their orthodox doctrines.* To blame these, would be to blame the inspirations of Fox and Penn; to condemn these, would be to condemn all the Friends of the first "*convincement.*" None, therefore, in their last annual meeting, blamed "Amicus," but those (better informed men I readily admit them to be,) who are receding from genuine Quakerism, and are approaching the Reformed churches.

On the subject of the Holy Sacraments, "Amicus" exhibits little solidity of argument: while the decencies and courtesy of modern polemics, I am constrained to say, seem to have been thrown off at the very entrance of the arena. He actually denies *that our Lord ordained either baptism by water, or any supper whatever, different from the passover!*

After denying that he is opposed to missions, he manifests, in the progress of the discussions, that decided and deadly hostility to our missions and Bible societies, which reigns in the society *as a body:* and which every one who has studied their tenets, knows to be combined with the very elements of their system. See "Amicus's" first letters, and his letters on the *Internal Light*, and "Paul's" statements. p. 23, &c.

In his letters on "*Internal Light*," "Amicus" rejects from his system the doctrine of the exclusive superiority and necessity of a written revelation. The scriptures, as usual, he makes a *secondary rule*, and inferior to the light in the human mind. And when pressed hard by his able antagonist, he brings out unsparingly their well known ancient doctrine in these words: "*Deists and pagans are partakers of saving grace,*" all having the Christ within, as well as christians. See p. 283. He actually *rails* at Christendom. "The religion of Christendom," says he, "is falsely called the christian religion." p. 298. And according to this charitable and enlightened christian, so far are the morals of pagans superior to those of the christians that (I use his own words,) "those called heathens, savages, idolaters, have far outstripped *professing christians* in divine works of mercy, justice and truth!" p. 268, 269, 272.

The doctrine of the most Holy Trinity "Amicus" denies in language the most revolting to a christian's feelings, and outrageous to the common decencies and courtesy of society. For charity, alas! he seems to put it out of the question. The following is a specimen. "To adore the triune God is to adore the unknown God." p. 394. "The three persons are three gods, or three nothings." p. 338. The doctrine of the Trinity is irrational, absurd and monstrous. p. 403, 423. This doctrine "*makes Jehovah a finite mortal, the Deity an unsubstantial Being, and the Saviour the third part of a monstrous divinity!*" p. 423. See also his letters 37 and 38, and the preface p. viii.

On the doctrine of the atonement he is equally violent; having made the terms "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" to mean one and the same thing: having denied the relation of Father and Son, he takes away all possibility of an atonement. Accordingly he denies, in bitter terms, an atonement by the sufferings and death of a divine person. But he advocates an atonement precisely of the nature described by me in Part II. preceding.

That this tends to deism is obvious from the following words of "Amicus." "The salvation of the soul is effected, not by that which Christ did for us in his outward and temporary manifestation, nor by any imputation of his righteousness or merits." p. 478. He shows afterwards, that their sanctification or *inward* righteousness, is the cause of their justification and salvation. p. 499.

Thus from documents of the most satisfactory kind, the christian public can judge of the charges brought against the society by "Paul," and by myself,* *that they have rejected from their system the peculiar and essential doctrines of the gospel of Christ.* If the Unitarians be entitled to the name of christians, then have the Friends also a right to it!

There are in "Paul's" letters some instances of harshness and asperity. It is to be regretted that one who could command such an overwhelming force of argument, should yield to the provocations and *bullyings* of his adversary. But with all his blemishes, (and which of us is free of them?) he is an able champion in the cause of truth. He is evidently a youthful writer. And when he is matured in years and experience, the church will certainly call

* On this union of sentiment I beg leave to state, that my MS. was in the hands of my publisher, before I saw the letters of Paul and Amicus.

upon him to resume his able pen in the great conflict with this class of Unitarians.

The whole manner of "Amicus," indicates a vigorous mind and considerable reading. But he has not digested well what he has read: nor has he read enough. He was, in fact, not ready for this conflict with "Paul." His reading has been too much on the one side. He knows not the true sentiments of the Trinitarians: or, to say the least, he has not employed his knowledge of them as he ought to have done. He is warm from the moment he leaves the starting post. In each succeeding letter he waxes hotter and hotter, until he becomes really offensive and often disgusting. And not unfrequently, when the ideas of "*missionary exertions*," "*and Bible societies*," and a "*mercenary hireling ministry*" come athwart his heated imagination, he actually raves! p. 288, 289, 404, 415, &c.

The style of "Amicus" partakes much of the "tedious, luscious way of Penn." He often exhausts the patience of his antagonist and his reader. And what is worse for his cause, he weakens the force of his own arguments by an eternal verbosity: while he leaves himself neither room, nor time, to reply to the main arguments of his opponent. His tedious, dry way is little calculated to carry conviction into the heart. He proses his reader almost to death, at one time, and at another, he dissipates the *ennui* by feelings excited by his barefaced misrepresentations, or his sallies of vengeance. He disgusts the man of letters by his want of taste: and he lacerates the feelings of the pious christian by language uttered with lightness, and certainly very uncharitable; and, to say the least, bordering on the boldest blasphemy! See his preface p. viii. and p. 423. And indeed the whole of the letter on the *Trinity* and the *atonement*.

2. *Vindex* in his "Truth vindicated in six letters to the Presbyterians." He has gone over much of the same ground, (see letters 2d and 3d.) He has advanced the same tenets in substance. And he exhibits two much of the style and spirit of "Amicus." Like the other two, he fights *en masque;* being either unwilling, or else not daring to show his face in defence of what he says.

THE END.

ERRATA.

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PAGE	LINE	*for*	*read*
6	12	opposers	oppressors
—	32	natural	national.
35	15	Ayresmore	Ayrsmoss.
36	35	child	chielde.
38	8 }	frock	pock.
39	9 }		
34 or 42*	note	89	8, 9.
47	24	Celaus	Celsus.
48	9, 12, 15	corporal	corporeal
50	27	questions	quotations.
—	33	weak	heathen.
52	4	descent	ascent.
54	14	forms	fame.
56	3	after influence insert whom.	
58	26	true	free.
67 68 69 70 83	notes	sec.	vol.
69	do.	Jewel	Sewel.
71	11		Farnsworth.
73	8	joining	gaining
do	9	affected	effected.
74	note	insiduous	insidious.
75	note line 18	A. D. 1611	A. D. 1681.
81	14		Muscovegian.
88	note bottom line	Poet	Part.
106	13	arts	acts
185	7 from the bottom	Therians	Iberians
188	17	after "*parallel*" insert "*saving*."	
193	15	"pled"	"plod."
202	4 from the bottom note	"too"	"the."
220	7	Juke	Tuke.
257	25	now	was.
258	3 from bottom	Tu.	Jur.
	APPENDIX.		
2	6 from bottom		"puerilities."
4	1	Turieu	Jurieu.

* There is an error in the paging. See 34, &c.

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